

MILITARY

ILLUSTRATED & PRESENT

No 25 JUNE 1990

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NEW MONTHLY

WATERLOO 175TH
ANNIVERSARY:

NEW REGIMENTAL
UNIFORM CHARTS

ANATOMY OF AN
INFANTRY COMPANY

INTERVIEW:
'SHARPE'S' CREATOR

PLUS

NW FRONTIER

VIETNAM SEALS

GALLERY:
HENRY HARDINGE

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MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

□ PAST & PRESENT □

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JUNE 1990

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Our cover illustration shows a reconstruction of a British Line infantryman in 1815. (Photo Time Machine AG)

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EDITORIAL

We welcome two new contributors to this, our first monthly issue, which coincides with the 175th anniversary of Waterloo. John Sly has been collecting medals of the Green Howards (19th Foot), and researching the stories of recipients, for more than ten years. Under a pseudonym he has contributed articles on numismatic subjects to the trade press for twice as long. In 1988 he collaborated with Alan Lagden to produce the remarkable book *The 2/73rd at Waterloo*, which eminently qualifies him for his article in this issue on the men of that battalion's Grenadier Company.

David Spencer is a Research Fellow at the Council for Inter-American Security, a 'think tank' in Washington DC; his speciality is Latin American defence issues, but his interests extend more widely over military history. He spent 13 years living and studying throughout

Latin America, and has published several articles on the region. He is a National Guard section sergeant in an anti-armour platoon in the 29th Light Infantry Division.

NAM Napoleonic Exhibition

Our cover illustration shows an 1815 redcoat, as is proper on the 175th anniversary of Waterloo. The uniform illustrated is a reconstruction, one of several that have been made for an exciting new National Army Museum permanent exhibition due to open in stages during this summer. *'The Road to Waterloo — The British Soldier and the Struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France 1793-1815'* will combine items from the Museum's remarkable collections of contemporary uniforms, weapons and personal relics; and a series of life-size figures by Time Machine (see 'MI' No.23) of British Army types of the period, illustrating not only campaign life but also something of the social history of the British soldier. At a later stage the exhibition will unveil the famous

Siborne model of the battle of Waterloo, long in storage and now undergoing restoration. We shall be publishing photographs of the life-size figures during the second half of this year.

Errata

In 'MI' Nos. 23 & 24 the advertisement for Cranston Imports (USA & Canada) quoted the wrong telephone number; it should be (USA) code 203-438-7680. We are asked to draw customers' attention to the recent change of address, to: Cranston Imports, 28 Bob Hill Rd., Ridgefield, CT, 06877, USA.

William Payne's Medal

Dr. John Hall, who generously allowed us to publish the remarkable self-portrait of Pte. William Payne of the 1st Foot Guards, 1814 (see 'MI' No.14) which he has lent to the Guards Museum, now tells us of an enviable coup in the auction room.

At Sotheby's in the first week of February Dr. Hall secured William Payne's Military General Service

Medal, with Corona clasp; and in time this will go on display with the self-portrait. The odds against a collector re-uniting two separate relics of a Napoleonic Wars ranker are incalculable: our envious congratulations to John Hall.

German re-enactment society

Our friend Dr. David Schiller, editor of the international gun magazine *Visier*, tells us of an interesting development: the forming of an association to further 'living history' and re-enactment on the Continent, uniting various existing groups. These include enthusiasts for medieval, Thirty Years' War, 18th century, Napoleonic, American Civil and Indian Wars periods; and the association is keen to exchange information and forge links with other groups, as well as providing logistical and legal 'back-up' and organising events. The contact address is: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Geschichte Live (AGL), c/o Karl-Heinz Speicher, Richard-Wagner-Strasse 8, 6636 Überherrn, West Germany.

THE AUCTION SCENE

The factors which can affect auction prices are manifold and often not at all obvious. Similar objects, even in the same sale, can realise markedly different prices. It is this 'uncertainty factor' that reduces the practical value of all price listings and columns such as this. Examination of the list of one sale may suggest a range of prices for a certain group of objects which may then be taken as indicating the state of the market. However, the very next sale offering the same type of object may well evoke prices which vary considerably, in either direction, from those of the previous sale.

Some of the factors which affect the prices may be obvious to the people attending the sale, for they can examine the lots and check their condition. With the best will in the world, the auction house can never describe any lot in minute detail, so that the catalogue description may not reflect the exact condition. In any case, the cataloguer's perception of condition may not coincide with that of a bidder and, unless present at the view or sale, there is no way of judging the accuracy and detail of a catalogue entry.

The attendance at the sale can also effect prices since a 'standard' group of dealers will know their trade, and the prices will not exceed reasonably well understood levels. Introduce a new dealer or a keen collector or two and the bidding pattern can change; and the same can happen if a particular dealer misses a sale. These are factors which no simple listing of prices can reflect.

Provenance is another obvious stimulant, since an object from a well-known collection carries what is almost a guarantee of quality. This may not always be the case, for the experts may know that a particular collector was somewhat gullible and, consequently, there is a question mark over certain objects. In such a

case the prices realised may not achieve the expected levels. The identity of the previous owner can obviously effect the price. The more famous, or notorious, the owner the higher the price his lot is likely to achieve.

Even when all these factors are considered there remains the occasion when a lot will exceed the wildest estimates for no apparent reason. One explanation is a strange phenomenon, 'auction fever', which has been known to afflict even the most hardened auction-goers. The thrill of the chase, a determination not to be beaten, or a desire simply to prevent somebody else from getting the lot can all stimulate this potentially damaging malady. Once affected, the bidder tends to throw caution to the wind and exceeds his limit, finishing up with a lot at a price which, on reflection, he will feel was really rather ridiculous.

The sale of arms, armour and militaria held by Phillips on 1 March provided several examples of these variations in prices. In some cases the explanation is obvious — as with the Bader material. This year sees the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain, with consequent coverage and public awareness. The film *Reach for the Sky* told the story of the RAF hero Douglas Bader, who beat the disastrous effects of a crash which cost him both legs. Despite this disability he went on to become a fighter ace of World War II and even attempted several escapes from the hands of the Germans. Thus it was not surprising that his wartime RAF logbook sold for £16,000 and his earlier logbook, covering the period 1928-32 and recording his crash, realised £10,000. The magic of his reputation extended to less glamorous items such as his RAF rugby cap, which bore his name. A similar item without that name would probably realise around £30-50: Bader's sold

for £900. The glory of his achievements extended to a commercially published print of an aerial combat, signed by Bader and the German ace Galland. A glazed example, together with a second print signed by British ace Robert Stanford-Tuck, sold for £500.

The demand for rimfire weapons continues to rise — a fairly common .41 Colt derringer fetched £220 — and it was in this field that there was one of these apparently contradictory bids. High prices for such items were no great surprise, but in the same sale there were two .32 rimfire four-barrelled Sharps derringers. They were very similar except that one was cased; the uncased one sold for £440 while the cased example sold for £400.

One reaction generated among auctioneers and bidders by such deviant sales is the feeling that there was something about that lot that they must have missed. This was certainly the feeling when a six-shot bar hammer percussion pepperbox revolver by Rigby of Dublin, estimated at the reasonable figure of £700-£1,000, more than doubled and sold for £2,200. A flintlock brass harrelled blunderbuss by E. North also more or less doubled from the estimate of £400-600 to sell at £1,100. Similarly, a William III flintlock musket in only fair condition was estimated at £1,200-1,500 and no doubt delighted the vendor by realising £2,600.

The majority of other lots in the sale sold at or above the top estimates, and it may be a good omen for the arms and armour trade to report that every single item in the antique weapons sections was sold — a rare occurrence. To find out if this was just a one-off event or if the trade is picking up, dealers, collectors and auctioneers will have to wait for the big Sotheby's sale of French militaria in Monaco, and the London Arms Fair which is held at the end of April. Frederick Wilkinson

CLASSIFIED

Classified advertisements should be mailed, WITH PAYMENT (see rates below), to MILITARY ILLUSTRATED (CLASSIFIEDS), 169 Seven Sisters Rd., London N4 3NS. Write or type your advertisement in BLOCK LETTERS, making sure you include your name and address; and make clear whether it is a 'want' or 'for sale' notice. RATES: 35p per word; minimum charge, £5.25 (up to 25 words). Semi-display boxed, £7.00 per single column centimetre; minimum charge, £21.00 (up to 3cm deep, single column); double for boxes across two column widths.

All classifieds will be inserted in the next available issue unless requested otherwise. ALL CLASSIFIEDS MUST BE PRE-PAID; we regret we cannot refund payment in the event of later cancellation. Make cheques/POs payable to 'Military Illustrated Ltd.'

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Brave Men's Blood

The Epic of the Zulu War, 1879



'BRAVE MEN'S BLOOD' COMPETITION

Greenhill Books, publishers of Ian Knight's new book on the Zulu War, *Brave Men's Blood*, are offering **six free copies** of the book to winners of the competition below. The first six all-correct answers taken from the accumulated entries to the competition on **10 June 1990** will be sent free copies. Please type, or write in block capitals; and post your entry to: ZULU COMPETITION, Military Illustrated, 5 Gerard St., London W1V 7LJ, to arrive not later than first post on 10 June.

Questions

- (1) Name the British commander-in-chief during the Anglo-Zulu War, 1879.
- (2) How many Victoria Crosses were awarded to survivors of the battles of 22 January 1879?
- (3) Name the British officer who returned to the camp at Isandlwana after it had fallen to the Zulus, and narrowly escaped with his life.
- (4) Who commanded the Zulu forces at Rorke's Drift?
- (5) A renegade Swazi prince earned a fearsome reputation as a raider in northern Zululand during the war. Who was he?
- (6) One VC was awarded for the action at Ntombi Drift: to whom?
- (7) Throughout the war the Zulus took only one European prisoner. Who was he?
- (8) Who was Col. Wood's energetic commander of irregular cavalry, who won the VC during the war, and later rose to become a general?
- (9) Name the British officer who led the raid into Zululand at the Middle Drift on 20 May 1879.
- (10) Two troopers of Bettington's Horse were killed in the same skirmish as the Prince Imperial. Who were they?

(Entries will be judged, and prizes despatched, by Greenhill Books Ltd. The editor regrets that he can enter into no correspondence regarding this competition.)

Video Releases to Rent: 'Farewell to the King'

(Vestron: 15)
'Time of Destiny' (Vestron: 15)
'Resurrected' (CBS/Fox: 18)

Vestron have released two recent World War Two films on video. John Milius' *Farewell to the King* (1988) begins with British Captain Fairbourne (Nigel Havers), of Z Force, parachuting into the Borneo jungle in February 1945. His mission is to organise resistance among the indigenous tribes against the Japanese invaders. He and his black Sergeant Tenga, late of the King's African Rifles, are captured by the Dayaks, a tribe whose king is a white American called Learoyd (Nick Nolte). Learoyd explains how he evaded Japanese capture at Corregidor in 1942, sailed to Borneo, and won the respect of the tribes by uniting them in peace.

Learoyd, presuming the Dayaks to be safe in their hidden valley, is reluctant to involve the tribe in a war in which they have no concern. However, a bombing raid by the Japanese (who have monitored Fairbourne's radio transmissions), and the approach of the Japanese retreating from Allied invasion forces, forces him to change his mind. Fairbourne is put into the difficult position of having to guarantee independence for the tribes after the war, while fully aware that his superiors intend no such thing.

The film is based on a novel by Pierre Schoendoerffer, but similarities can be seen with John Huston's adaptation of Rudyard Kipling's *The Man Who Would Be King* (1975), and *Apocalypse Now* (1979), which Milius co-wrote with Francis Ford Coppola. A longer running time might have given the opportunity to explore issues such as Learoyd's Communism, which are raised but never fully developed. Given that Milius directed questionable celeb-

rations of violence such as *Conan the Barbarian* (1982) and *Red Dawn* (1984), the action sequences are surprisingly under-developed. However, the locations are attractively photographed, and the story is sufficiently unusual to make this of some interest.

Gregory Nava's *A Time of Destiny* (1989) received little publicity during its theatrical release, despite the presence of William Hurt in the leading rôle. The film starts in California in 1943. Timothy Hutton plays Jack, a young soldier who elopes with Josie, the daughter of Jorge, a Basque American patriarch. After Jorge dies while trying to prevent the couple escaping his temperamental son Martin (William Hurt) vows to avenge his death by killing Jack. Martin joins Jack's regiment, which participates in the Italian campaign. His attempt on Jack's life during some confused fighting fails: Martin has to wait until after they have returned home for another opportunity.

The film is more thriller than war movie, with a hell-tower climax reminiscent of Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). However, the Italian campaign sequences (shot in Yugoslavia) are photographed with some flair; particularly memorable is the opening shot in which the camera appears to simulate the flight of a shell fired from a German field-gun towards a column of tanks. The good cast perform well in an underrated and entertaining film which deserved a wider audience.

Paul Greengrass's *Resurrected* (1989) is based on the true story of Corporal Phillip Williams of the Scots Guards who went missing for several weeks during the Falklands War, and the subsequent treatment he received at the hands of his family,

friends and former comrades. Greengrass based his screenplay on Williams' story, and others he discovered while researching a television documentary about bullying in the Army.

The film opens with a memorial service being held in remembrance of Private Kevin Deakin in his Lancashire village, attended by his father (Tom Bell) and mother (Rita Tushingham). It then cuts to a Falkland islander's farmhouse, where Deakin (David Thewlis) arrives rain-soaked, hungry, exhausted and suffering from amnesia. He is given a hero's welcome on his return home, and the Army decides not to investigate his story of amnesia further. However, once the tabloids pick up on the hint of desertion, his girlfriend leaves him for another man and his relations with his parents become strained. His return to his unit proves to be even more traumatic: he is subjected to a midnight kangaroo court and the horrors of a 'regimental bath'.

Resurrected questions the morality of sending to war teenagers who, while genuine volunteers, are too young to comprehend the stresses to which they will inevitably be subjected. In doing so it provides a critique of some of the cruder myths that have shaped some public perceptions of the Falklands War; and — like the BBC's more balanced and thoughtful *Tumbledown*, whose production values also benefited from a budget beyond the means of a Channel 4 production — it doubtless provoked indignation among those who prefer to remember the war purely as a military victory. Its view of the military world may be judged by some to be didactic; but its questioning of the human issues involved is surely legitimate.

Stephen J. Greenhill

REVIEWS

'About Face' by Col. David H. Hackworth & Julie Sherman; Sidgwick & Jackson; 875pp., index, 48 photographs, two maps; £16.95

First published in the USA earlier this year, *About Face* has become a controversial book because of its criticism of the internal politics and attitudes in the United States Army. Since Col. Hackworth has a fine combat record in both the Korean and Vietnam wars and won his commission on the battlefield in Korea, his comments carry more weight than some recent works written about other armies by civilian experts or short service commission officers. *About Face* can be read on three levels — as the lively account of one man's career as a soldier, as a record of the trials and changes in the post-World War II US Army, and as an analysis of the deficiencies of a 'zero defect' army in which officers are encouraged to 'ticket punch' their way upwards through their careers.

The book has produced some very strong reactions in the US Army establishment. The thrust of these seems to be that because Col. Hackworth is a colourful and strong personality who gave TV and press interviews critical of the waste of the war in Vietnam, his judgements are unsound. However, if he is critical of his fellow officers and disillusioned with tactics and attitudes, he is also self-critical, and acknowledges errors of judgement both personal and military.

It cannot be disputed that the ER — Efficiency Report — system (UK, 'Confidential Report') of the US Army has become devalued. In the Orwellian Newspeak of these reports words are overrated, and so competent = good, and excellent = outstanding. Your reviewer recalls a former Regular US Army Officer now in the Army Reserve who received a good British Confidential couched in modest English understatement. He had to explain to his

British CO that in US language the 'good Confidential' was a disaster, and so the British brigadier put his tongue in his cheek and rewrote the report in suitably effusive language.

However, 'ticket punching' — serving in a series of upwardly mobile command and staff posts — is not a uniquely US Army phenomenon: almost all armies in the world seem to suffer from this disease. Col. Hackworth can look back to 'the brown boot army' of the 1940s and early '50s when this career pattern did not exist, and good NCOs and officers could give a lifetime to the Army and be respected for their experience and knowledge.

His critical comments on complicated 'high tech' weapons carry considerable weight from a man who watched the lethal birth pangs of the M16 in Vietnam and who made guerrilla warfare his particular study. As these 'little wars' continue around the world, the expensive and complicated NATO armouries are now only used on exercises.

About Face discusses the vital importance of realistic and worth-

while training. Col. Hackworth describes joining conscript soldiers in the USA on their final work-up prior to departure to Vietnam — on an exercise in the snow... poor preparation for jungle combat. He observed unimaginative and unmotivated instruction by conscript NCOs for men who were destined for Vietnam.

The angry reaction to *About Face* in some circles of the US Army is in part because it 'rocks the boat'. It asks questions about the Army, its equipment, its training, and the career pattern and retirement prospects of senior officers. Col. Hackworth has ruffled feathers with his well-reasoned anti-nuclear attitudes which finds echoes in comments from retired senior British officers. All have thought through the rationale for nuclear weapons, and found it irrational. It is not, however, an anti-army book. Col. Hackworth, having begun service life as a youthful private with the US Army in Trieste, has a real affection for soldiers. Following the publication of *About Face* he has received enthusiastic letters and comments from soldiers who served in Korea and Vietnam. The book has been bought as a leadership manual by some US Army units from their training funds. The colonel told your reviewer, with a chuckle, that it is even being read in the Pentagon, though good career officers are keeping their copies wrapped in brown paper.

Col. Hackworth accompanied retired Gen. SLA Marshall (SLAM) on a fact-finding mission to Vietnam and was able to watch 'Slam' at work. He became disillusioned with the life of air-conditioned officer's clubs in which Slam moved, as well as unimpressed with the politics and the writing about the war for personal gain.

About Face is an excellent book; though it is easy to read, it poses questions about leadership and training which are worth consideration by any serious military reader.

EWWF

'Fortress Britain: Artillery Fortification in the British Isles and Ireland' by Andrew Saunders; Beaufort Publishing Ltd.; 256 pp.; 190 photographs, 65 plates, maps and line drawings; £20.00

Andrew Saunders, MA, FSA, FRHistS, FSA Scot, has been the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments at English Heritage since 1973, the longest-serving Chief Inspector in the century-long history of the post. He is thus one of those happy men who gets his living out of doing something he enjoys, and his particular enjoyment is military architecture. His position has given him a unique opportunity to examine fortification in Britain and also to delve into archives and records out of the reach of most enthusiasts, and the result of his labour is laid before us in this splendid book.

As the subtitle says, this is a history of 'artillery fortification'; and he begins with a brief discourse on the

early history of artillery, sufficient to assure understanding of the early types of cannon. From here he moves to the earliest examples of fortification designed to accommodate the cannon, and then continues steadily through the centuries, to end up discussing anti-aircraft sites in the Home Counties and German observation posts in the Channel Islands.

Obviously, to cover this amount of history in 224 pages of text means that it must be an overview; but the author has skilfully fleshed this out by taking a specimen work representative of a given period and discussing it in some detail so as to bring out features common to other contemporary works, and thus suggest what might be found in them. The photographs are excellent, as are the maps and plans; many of the illustrations are previously unpublished, so even the knowledgeable reader is bound to find something he didn't know before.

The text is amply, but unobtrusively footnoted, with references to sources which are most useful; there is a good bibliography and a concise but highly informative glossary of fortification terms. There is also a most useful gazetteer which, county by county, lists the many fortifications remaining in Britain which can be visited. Beaufort Publishing is a new firm which is 'dedicated to top quality reference books on castles, fortification and related areas of military history'. By publishing Andrew Saunders's book they have made an excellent start and if they maintain this standard fortification enthusiasts are in for some rare treats. **IH**

'Fortification: Its Past Achievements, Recent Developments, and Future Progress' by Sir George Sydenham Clarke; Beaufort Publishing Ltd.; 384 pp.; 32 plates, 27 diagrams; £25.00

Sir George Clarke, later Lord Sydenham, was a man of many parts. Commissioned into the Royal Engineers in 1868, he saw service in Egypt and the Sudan, and from 1885 to 1892 was secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee. Knighted in 1893, he became Superintendent of the Royal Carriage Department of Woolwich Arsenal; and was responsible for the designs of coast defence gun mountings which appeared in the 1890s and which, with minor modification, lasted until the 1950s. He later served in many official capacities including Governor of Victoria and of Bomihay.

His Sapper service involved work on fortification, and he had a lifelong interest in the subject which was by no means hidebound. He could be extremely scornful on the subject of 'drawing office fortification', and was always looking at the practical aspects of the art. In 1893 he published the first edition of *Fortification*, which caused something of a fluttering in many engineer dove-cotes by virtue of his iconoclastic views; he followed it up in 1907 with a second edition, of which the book under



review is a reprint. In the interim the Russo-Japanese and South African wars had taken place and led to several additions and changes. Both editions are rare, the 1907 the more rare of the two, and its reprinting is most welcome to anyone with the slightest interest in fortification.

Not only was Sir George technically competent; he was also a very good writer, and even those with only a passing interest in the subject would enjoy reading this book for its forthright comments on the general military scene. In addition to dealing with the architectural aspects of fortification he also includes information on guns and mountings, contemporary warships, armour penetration and several allied subjects, so that reading this book gives an excellent overview of the defence questions of the day. It also gives a succinct and interesting resumé of post-Vauban fortress warfare which alone is worth the money.

Who could fail to be entertained by a writer who deals with armoured cupolas by saying: 'Two or three men buried in a subterranean chamber lighted by a lantern are, at the right moment, to raise their cupola and deliver an overwhelming fire in the right direction. The mechanical principles are apparently sound: the arrangement will probably work so long as it is not struck by anything heavier than a rifle bullet. The price is satisfactory — to the makers — and purely military considerations can be ignored.' Wonderful stuff; if your interest is fortification or not, buy it and be entertained while being educated. **IH**

Osprey Men-at-Arms and Elite series: MAA all 48pp, 8pp col. ill., approx. 40 b/w ill., £5.50 each; Elite all 64pp, 12pp col. ill., approx. 50 b/w ill. £6.50 each; also available direct from George Philip Services, Freepost, Littlehampton, Sussex BN17 5BR (add 15% P&P)

Published since Sept. 1989: E25 'Soldiers of the English Civil War (1): Infantry' by Keith Roberts, and '(2): Cavalry' by John Tincey, both with plates by Angus McBride. The familiar format, expertly applied. The armies of the 1640s are examined, with a strong bias towards the evidence

provided by the surviving drill manuals and tactical treatises of the day — the professional 'textbooks' actually used by ECW officers. The composition, organisation, officer-ing, training, armament, dress, logistics, general management, and theoretical and actual battlefield behaviour of all types of unit are covered in an accessible but authoritative style. (Artillery and dragoons are both covered in the 'Cavalry' title.) Quite a high proportion of the monochrome illustrations were new to the reviewer, and seemed of high value particularly to wargamers. Mr. McBride had his usual fun with the plates, which are most intelligently planned by the authors to illustrate particular aspects or phases of their subjects.

E26 'Tank War, Central Front: NATO vs. Warsaw Pact' by Steven Zaloga, plates by the author and Simon McCouaig. An intriguing subject, which could easily have been boring but which is approached in an accessible way even for the non-specialist. Basically the book compares the opposing line-ups of armoured forces; but it goes way beyond the usual 'orbats' and 'lawn-mower-catalogues' of units and tank type characteristics. It opens with a lively fictional battle narrative which underlines the strengths and weaknesses, technical and tactical, of both sides; and proceeds (via an inevitable minimum of orbats) to discuss in fascinating detail both the latest notches achieved by each side in the ever-escalating 'gun-armour' race; and the significant differences in crew training. This book gave a definitely non-specialist reviewer a real 'feel' for the armoured forces on each side of the Curtain; and the colour plates are a feast of all the latest colour-schemes, camouflages and insignia.

MAA214 'US Infantry Equipments 1755-1910' by P.R.N. Katcher, plates Bryan Fosten. The spread of time covered is not as anachronistic as it might appear: infantry belt and pouch sets tended to stay in use for long periods in the 18th/19th centuries. This text covers just about everything slung on the American footsoldier, and includes details of such often neglected subjects as blankets, ponchos and canteens, as well as cartridge and cap pouches, knapsacks, etc. The photos are mostly useful close-ups of surviving examples; and the colour plates are an attractive mix of full-length figures and 'exploded' enlargements of equipment items.

MAA215 'Queen Victoria's Enemies (2) Northern Africa' by Ian Knight, plates Richard Scollins. The same format as the 'Southern Africa' title (MAA212, reviewed 'M' No.21), and covering Abyssinia, Ashanti, Egypt 1882, the Sudan, Kenya, Nigeria and Somaliland. The illustrations are first class, with a slight but inevitable bias towards the well-recorded Sudanese campaigns. The Ashanti section and plate are particularly interesting and attractive.

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Interview: The Man Behind Sharpe

This spring sees the publication of the eleventh novel in Bernard Cornwell's best-selling series of historical adventures based on the career of an ex-ranker Rifles officer named Richard Sharpe. 'MI' interviewed the author during a recent visit to England from his American home.

Cornwell was adopted at birth into a family belonging to an extremely strict non-conformist religious sect, the 'Peculiar People'. He attributes many later decisions to an urge to get as far as possible from the cramped mental surroundings of his childhood. Poor eyesight kept him out of the Army; he subsequently worked in television, rising to Head of Current Affairs for BBC TV Northern Ireland, and Editor of Thames TV's Thames at Six. Then, at the age of 35, he gave it all up to follow an American girl home across the Atlantic. Since he couldn't get a work permit, he dusted off his long-delayed dream of writing a novel about the Peninsular War — a fascination which he had pursued in his free time. That first novel won him an unprecedented ten-book contract with Collins and Fontana. All have been highly successful; and 'Richard Sharpe' has been named an Honorary Member of the Officers' Mess at the Royal Green Jackets' Regimental Depot — a unique honour for a fictional character.

MI: Your Sharpe novels clearly entail an enormous amount of research. What were the best sources for your most recent book, 'Sharpe's Waterloo'?

BC: The best has to be Jac Weller's *Wellington at Waterloo*. One does the 'Siborne Letters', but at the end of the day Jac is the best technical military historian; although for human interest there's nothing to beat Elizabeth Longford. I don't think there is a book on Waterloo that I haven't got on the shelf.

I also spent days walking the fields at Quatre Bras and Waterloo itself. Really, when I began the Sharpe series back in 1979 the one I wanted to write was Waterloo; it's been a fascination for years and years.

MI: When you were out walk-

ing the battlefields, did you get a feel from the atmosphere and the land?

BC: Much more so in Spain than in Belgium. In Ciudad Rodrigo, for instance, there's a church tower inside, just beyond the wall. You can still see where the British 12-pounder shots over-fired the breach and hit the church; the scars are still there, the size of soup plates, and that does give you a nasty feeling. Badajoz, too, is a horrible place; it's still grim and awful.

There are no ghosts at Waterloo — although there are plenty of bloody Frogs marching around in uniform pretending they won!

MI: Given that you've presumably never been in close combat yourself, have you made a point of talking to people who have?

BC: I've never been in close combat, although I've been ambushed in Rhodesia. I got shot at and shot back, but that's as close as I got. I got shot at in Beirut; and I was at work in Belfast long enough to know that if the British army ever needs an entrenching machine then I'm their man. Fire a bullet anywhere near me and I'll go down through concrete — straight down! It's been enough to make me admire the bravery of the people who have been in close combat, many of whom I've spoken to and who have given me plenty of ideas for characters.

MI: How useful are memoirs of the time as sources for your books?

BC: There are some very dull ones, but they all give you something. All the obvious ones are good, like Kincaid and Wheeler; but I particularly like a German commissary, Schaumann, who wrote *On the Road with Wellington*.

It's often the tiny things

that stick in your mind. In the 'Siborne Letters' an officer was writing to his wife trying to tell her what it was like. He said the corn on the top of the ridge had been trampled to the consistency of a woven mat. We all know what those mats look like — it was a wonderful image. Which of course I ripped off.

MI: How did you glean those little background snippets that make your novels so colourful?

BC: The best of it all comes from letters, diaries and memoirs. I am thinking of doing a series on the American Civil War at the request of an American publisher — the same idea, taking a character through nine or ten books — and I find the most valuable research sources are not the books on the Civil War itself, which are very accessible indeed, but the diaries and letters of the period which have nothing to do with the war.

I love the bit in Waterloo where they fumigate the room by throwing vinegar on to a hot shovel. That came from Madame Tour de la Pin, who was in Brussels two years before Waterloo. You don't read her for war stuff but she's fascinating on everything else. I adore all that detail.

I've always had this notion that it would be fun to write an historical novel set in the present, as if it was being written 300 years from now, where you would have a Model T Ford with electric windows — you just get everything slightly wrong. People would see people smoking and say, 'Oh my God, look, you can see he's dying of cancer', and people would keel over in the street...

I particularly enjoy the part after Quatre Bras where Sharpe and Harper are cooking steaks cut from a dead horse in a cuirassier's breast plate. It must have tasted so awful, cooked in axle grease; but they used to eat that sort of stuff.

MI: Do you have any particular view of the people who were

there, the professional soldiers?

BC: They were utterly admirable; I think it was a wonderful army, simply because of Wellington. It was one of those freak moments in history when the right man got the job, and then only because they thought he'd fail. In 1808-9, when they sent him out to Viniero and Rolica, I'm sure it was a political move to send a junior general whom they were sure would fail. But of course, to my mind, he turned out to be the greatest general of all time.

I have a lot of time for most of the others even though there were some dreadful senior officers. Wellington refused to send them home because, he said, 'There's no point in sending them home because all they'll send me in return will be even worse.' But among the cowards and idiots there were also some magnificent people — like McDonnell, who commanded the Coldstreams at Hougoumont. There were some wonderful regimental officers.

MI: At one point in your book you have Sharpe threatening to shoot the Prince of Orange to try to stop him giving his troops suicidal orders. What was the incidence of men actually killing their officers?

BC: It happened. In my first book, *Sharpe's Eagle*, it happened, and an American editor told me that it was wrong, that such things didn't happen until Vietnam. I gave him the references and he shut up. Of course it went on; officers were incredibly vulnerable. The only astonishing thing is how many didn't get murdered. You read any of those memoirs — most of the officers were popular with their men; morale was terrific and, once again, it all came from Wellington. It was an incredibly efficient army. He didn't give a damn what they looked like so long as they got on a battlefield with 60 rounds of ammunition.

MI: What do you think were the

qualities the men did look for in their officers?

BC: I'm sure they wanted them to be different to themselves. Wellington disliked officers who had come up from the ranks — 'No good ever comes of them, they always take to drink' — partly because the men themselves saw these officers as upstarts from their ranks. It's interesting how in the American army, which prided itself on a more democratic system, the soldiers often liked the British officers, whom they saw as proper gentlemen. There's a curious expectation among some soldiers who want their officers to be different and special and a bit snobbish.

I like the story of the Guards major at Waterloo who tells dirty jokes to his men as the French cavalry come on. I know he existed and made those filthy jokes — and the men liked it and expected it of him.

I wrote a book called *Red-coat*, done really for the Americans. An American film-maker wanted the book written, and he wanted to have a British lord who was an officer who would be nasty to the men. I said he was wrong: they would love the British lord — the one who was nasty was the sergeant from their own ranks, and that's the one they'd hate. That's what he got — and that's why the film never got made.

MI: What about the enormous entourage that followed the army?

BC: There were huge numbers. Each company might have about 60 or 70 men out of which maybe 40 would be legally married. Only six wives could go with them, to do the laundry and so on. They were chosen by lot on the eve of departure to avoid jealousies — it must have been very hard.

You could buy a Spanish girl — not a whore but a wife — for five guineas. By the time some of the regiments that had been in Spain for four years on the trot reached Toulouse in April 1814 about 70 per cent of the men had women with them. These



were tough ladies, who had carried muskets, carried the packs when their men were sick, and had done a tremendous amount for the army. Most were Spanish or Portuguese and were not legally married to their men.

One of the worst things on the British army's record in the Peninsula was when the army refused to take them any further and they were torn from their men. A lot of men deserted to get back to their wives and many wives made it to England, but I'm sure the majority were ripped apart.

They were tough women, and remarried with an alacrity that was quite extraordinary. There is a story that after Badajoz a wife was widowed and was found in tears by an officer the next afternoon, less than 24 hours after the poor man had died. The officer sympathises and says 'It's awful, I'm sorry; he was a good mate.' 'Oh, it isn't that,' she says, 'I accepted Private Smith this morning, and an hour ago

Sergeant Jones offered me marriage and that would have been a much better match, wouldn't it? He's much richer.'

MI: Apart from the medical horrors, were there other aspects of Regency life that were dreadful?

BC: I think we forget that the army was so much better than civilian life for most of these people. Think of the common lodging houses, the open drains running down the middle — the life of the working class was horrific. I could quote an account of how an abattoir in London was run which you wouldn't enjoy. Civilian life was brutal — read Cobbett's *Rural Rides*. I don't think I ever manage to convey any of that, I fail totally.

What a relief the army was for many of them, with three square meals and a pint of rum a day. Give me that any day. Rifleman Costello had a perfectly comfortable life as a cobbler in London after the wars. He said: 'I sit at my last, banging away, and I remember that they were the

happiest days of my life. I know I shouldn't look back on the war with pleasure — but I do.'

MI: Is the Regency image of loose morals an accurate one?

BC: I don't think this reputation is wrong. I have a feeling we became very boring after 1815, really when the Victorians arrived. The classic story is after Badajoz, when Lt. Harry Smith of the 95th Rifles met 14-year-old Juanita and fell in love with her — she was one of the few who had avoided being raped by the British soldiers. He became Sir Harry Smith, Governor General of South Africa, and she Lady Smith.

In his Victorian biographies you find that, having met her, he waits until Juanita is 16 before marrying her, and thereafter she is escorted around after the army with a duenna to keep her virtue intact. It's all balls. He had her the first night he met her, when she was 14, and married her the next day.

The English had a reputation right up until the 19th century for being pirates, rogues and bastards — an awful nation to fight, we were. People like Drake and Hawkins *were* bastards, but they were fun bastards. I think Sharpe is an accurate picture of the times he lived in.

MI: Sharpe seems quite a moral man: is that likely?

BC: He is moral, in a funny sort of way; but he and his men were rogues. They whored and drank their way through Spain, and yet they were nice people. Wellington is always quoted as calling them 'the scum of the earth' — but he said it after the battle of Vittoria when his men got into the French baggage. He was relying on the captured coin to pay his men, but instead they cleared it out. The Spanish crown jewels have never been recovered since. He went on to say that 'it's remarkable what marvellous fine fellows we've made of them.' The infantry *were* remarkable; their powers of endurance and the way they would stand and fight is incredible.

MI: *The men must have known that they might well be hacked to pieces; how do you think they felt about that?*

BC: I'm quite sure that, just as current soldiers do, they fought for each other. They weren't fighting for King and country, they were fighting for their mates. In the Light Infantry there was actually a buddy system, as there is today. There was enormous morale at company and squad level. In the 95th Rifles, for instance, every officer who joined as a young lieutenant had to go and drill with the men for the first three months. We think of them as being so traditional, but they were remarkably ahead of their time.

There was a realisation, certainly in the Light Infantry, that you could no longer flog men into battle, instead you had to give them responsibility and make them think for themselves. Fuller's book on the John Moore training system is very good here.

MI: *The Rifle Brigade would have been a cut above, with their superior training. Did they think of themselves as an élite?*

BC: They definitely thought they were. But then, even the most tedious of line regiments would have thought: 'We are the 103rd, we're from Essex, we are better.' I can't believe, for instance, that the Lincolnshire 69th didn't think they were best because they were wearing Lincoln Green; and the Scots were still in clans, some of them still following their hereditary chiefs. All the men were made to feel special. There were very few really atrocious regiments — in fact I can't think of one that did really badly.

MI: *The British regiments seemed very cohesive, but isn't it true that they had little faith in, for instance, the Belgians, whom they didn't expect to stand and fight at Waterloo?*

BC: The only ones the British really liked were the Portuguese. In 1808 the Portuguese army was in disarray so what they sensibly did was to bring in British officers. All the Peninsular

veterans didn't mind having the Portuguese beside them because they reckoned they'd fight. They didn't like the Spanish much, but they were very generous to the Portuguese.

MI: *In the Peninsular War, what do you think was the most impressive achievement?*

BC: Salamanca, for Wellington. It gives the lie to the claim that he wasn't an attacking general. At Salamanca he sees his moment and takes it, chopping them to shreds; it was a brilliant piece of generalship.

Then at Vittoria there's a scrappy battle which he wins gloriously, utterly destroying the French presence. On the way there he had to march through the Galician Mountains, a very inhospitable place. He split the army up into four columns and was clearly worried about provisions, particularly for the cavalry since horses are like tanks, they're too delicate to move 100 miles over bad roads.

Accordingly he sent uniformed spies ahead to arrange fodder with the local grandees at a certain price. At one village the young aide-de-camp came back empty-handed, and when asked why by the Duke he replied: 'Because the wretched man insisted that I bow to him, and I don't bow to some dago.'

'I quite understand your position' said the Duke, who saddled up and disappeared. The next day the fodder appeared and the officer asked Wellington how he had done it. 'Oh, I just bobbed down', he said. Perfect. He didn't care, just get the job done. My admiration for him is boundless. Unlike Napoleon — who was undeniably a genius — Wellington had actually commanded everything from a company up, and he knew how the nuts and bolts worked. He knew that you're not going to win a battle unless you've got spare shoe leather.

He also knew that the people in the regions he marched through would do everything they could to stop him

unless he paid for his men's food, so he was ruthless on looters. When his army got to France in 1814 there was a worry that the population would turn and the army would suffer the way Napoleon's had in Spain from guerrilla warfare. It didn't happen because Wellington was paying for the food and the French were not. The French welcomed the British — venal French peasantry!

MI: *With your interest in the battlefields, have you ever done any of the outdoor living to get a feel for the privations?*

BC: Only on small boats, which, believe me, is sometimes a lot more uncomfortable. I should have done but I didn't — rain would get into the word processor!

MI: *Since you live in America, where black powder shooting has become a popular hobby, have you ever fired a flintlock?*

BC: Once, yes, and that was more than enough. It's got a kick like a mule, which makes one sympathise with the soldiers who tried to spit out some of the powder so it was only loaded with a half charge.

MI: *Have you ever fired a replica Baker rifle or tried sabre fighting — the principle types of man-to-man fighting in your novels?*

BC: I haven't fired a Baker, although I've handled one. I used to fence a long time ago and I've tried sabre fighting.

MI: *Do you collect militaria?*

BC: No, but I have collected a library — and I do have a heavy cavalry sword like Sharpe carries. The work can come to dominate your life and I take great pride that my living room has no sign whatsoever that the Sharpe books are written in the house; although up in the study is another matter.

MI: *It's clearly easier to build up a novel around a campaign where the participants are all dead, so have you ever been tempted to tackle a contemporary war?*

BC: Yes, it is easier — imagine trying to write one about the Falklands now. It would be fearsome. What are you going to say if you're doing Goose Green? Even at Waterloo there are gaps. I

think Wellington was right: you can as well write the history of a battle as write the history of a ball. Who was dancing with who at what point — you can't do it.

MI: *How about sources for military tactics?*

BC: I use the same sources as everyone else, really. There are a lot of good books out there; and all I bring to it, if anything, is some imagination. I'm not saying that others don't have that, it's just that they choose to write non-fiction. I was always astonished that no-one had already written this series after Hornblower and Jack Aubrey — it seemed obvious to me that there should be a series on the army. I realised later that the reason they hadn't was probably because there is so much research to do. But it had been a hobby of mine for some time so it's all there. Just collect the stuff and start plagiarising, but acknowledge in the back of the book whom you plagiarised!

MI: *How much do you think minute military detail on weapons and uniform means to your readers?*

BC: I could have Napoleon win the Battle of Waterloo and they wouldn't care; but give a Rifleman black buttons instead of silver ones and you're through. People, quite rightly, get fanatical about it. It should be right.

MI: *Finally: given a time machine, is there any event or character you would like to go back to?*

BC: Oh, I'd love to meet Wellington. It would be wonderful to see Waterloo from a nice safe distance, perched over Wellington's shoulder perhaps, just to see how he got away with it. It would be great to see it from Hougoumont.

But of course it would be very uncomfortable because he was a very difficult man, very cold, who only liked you if you were an old Etonian lord, which is stupid when you think how clever he was and how well he did. He wouldn't like me at all.

MI

British Infantry Regiments in the Waterloo Campaign

B.K. & D.S.V. FOSTEN and
PHILIP HAYTHORNTHWAITE
Paintings by BRYAN FOSTEN

In the issue marking the 175th anniversary of the most famous — and most published — battle in British military history, it gives us great pride to be able to offer readers a genuinely new and important piece of research: a listing of known regimental distinctions of the British infantry regiments present at Waterloo, assembled from numerous sources by perhaps the leading uniform historians of the period now active, and illustrated in colour by the greatly respected Bryan Fosten.

Shortly before the opening of the Waterloo campaign, the Duke of Wellington was quizzed about the likely outcome. Pointing to a British infantryman wandering around a Brussels park, he said: 'It all depends upon that article whether we do the business or not. Give me enough of it, and I am sure'⁽¹⁾. 'That article' was one of the most remarkable military bodies of the era, and features to some extent in most histories of the Napoleonic Wars; but perhaps never was its influence more profound than at Waterloo, where its stolid defiance of Napoleon's army unquestionably turned the day in the Allies' favour.

The British infantry uniform of the campaign, basically that of the 1802 regulations modified in 1812, characterised by the introduction from that year of the false-fronted 'Belgic' or 'Waterloo' shako (neither being contemporary terms), has, from its use at this most climactic of actions, become among the most familiar images of the period, and is illustrated in countless works. Yet exact details of the uniforms of the battalions involved in the Netherlands campaign are not always clear; and are complicated by the fact that apart from the most obvious and authorised

distinctions of facing colour and design of lace, etc., many other items of uniform varied even between battalions of the same regiment.

As the minor details of uniform were not regulated centrally, insignia and decoration generally originated at regimental level, sometimes being introduced at the whim of a single officer — e.g. the 28th's badges of merit. Other items were of transient existence, so that it is not clear whether they were used at Waterloo; while others were retained long after their official withdrawal, such as the pre-1804 belt plates of the 79th. Many distinctions are doubtless unrecorded, while in other cases so many different patterns are still extant (e.g. the 27th's shoulder belt plate) that it is virtually impossible to be definite about which was that worn at Waterloo, especially when more than one pattern may have been worn concurrently.

An example of the difference between regulation dress and actual use is provided by the shako badge of regimental light companies, which by a General Order of 28 December 1814 was to consist of separate badges of a bugle-horn over the regimental number. Some regiments complied, e.g. the 33rd, whilst others certainly



Genty's engraving of an ordinary line infantryman: a member of the light company of the 5th (Northumberland) Regiment of Foot — which is relevant, although this unit arrived in Flanders too late to be present at Waterloo. The shako plate exemplifies the non-compliance with the 1814 order which introduced a distinctive shako insignia for light companies. The large feather plume (instead of the usual fairly meagre worsted tuft) was a regimental peculiarity. Note the distinctive regimental insignia on the knapsack, in yellow.

did not (e.g. the 5th according to Genty's print, although this was not a 'Waterloo' regiment); others may have adopted different badges⁽²⁾, but for the majority evidence is simply not extant.

Officers' equipment provides other questions, in that as it was provided by the individual there was often a degree of 'individuality' in evidence, despite many regimental orders which stated the accepted style. Noted for each battalion below is a description of the officers' lace, whether gold or silver, which refers to their metalwork in general — buttons, epaulettes and lace trim to the flank companies' wings; but many of those at Waterloo were styled 'unlaced', in that their facings did not have laced button-hole decoration but instead dummy holes of 'twist' thread of the same colour as the material upon which they were set. (It was also possible for 'laced' regiments to have 'unlaced' jackets for service wear).

Although extant items, contemporary portraits and tailors' pattern-books provide accurate depictions of the minutiae of many

uniforms, in other cases it is not possible to be certain. In some cases, sources conflict over the design of other ranks' lace; where this occurs, alternatives are given. (An account of major significance is *Redcoat* Part 3, G.A. Steppeler, 'MI' No. 22 pp.39-46, including the records of the clothiers Pearse.) By no means all the belt plates described here are mentioned in the standard work, *Shoulder-Belt Plates and Buttons*, H.G. Parkyn (Aldershot, 1956). Although the majority of officers carried weapons of the regulation pattern (the 1796 pattern sword or 1803 pattern sabre for flank companies, broadswords for most Highland officers below field rank), some regiments possessed unique patterns — extant examples of which are not all identical, being provided by different suppliers — whilst other officers carried weapons of their own choice.

Details given in the following listings include many regimental distinctions, but more general information on the uniforms is not included for reasons of space and ready availability; and it is very likely that other regimental

peculiarities existed in addition to those mentioned here. As it has not been possible to describe or illustrate all known items of insignia, footnotes have been added to identify the location of published uniforms to which reference is relatively easy.

Details of musicians' uniforms have not in general been included, though it is interesting to note the continued depiction in several contemporary sources of the traditional 'reversed colours' despite the 1812 order that henceforth drummers were to wear red uniforms like those of the other ranks.

Strengths and Casualties.

As a guide to the level of engagement of each battalion in the campaign, brief details are given of the strength and casualties of each, their commanding officers and the name of the senior unwounded officer (though this does not necessarily indicate the officer in command at the close of the battle). Strength and casualty statistics are given in *History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815*, W. Siborne (London, 1844), but whilst the latter accord to the official figures, the former are deceptive. Siborne listed the rank-and-file only, of each battalion on the morning of 18 June; not included are officers, sergeants or drummers, and no distinction is made between those actually present and those 'on command' (i.e. detached from the battalion) and those Quatre Bras casualties still on the battalion roll. For example, Siborne states that the strength of the 79th Foot was 703, whereas on the morning of the battle they actually numbered 374 plus five 'sick' (wounded) still in the ranks, plus 34 'on command' and 290 sick and wounded (from Quatre Bras) no longer with the unit; to which 26 officers, 30 sergeants and 10 drummers should be added, giving the actual total of combatants on the 18th as 445.

Even the 'official' statistics are not without query, as suggested by modern analy-

sis of muster-rolls; e.g. against Siborne's figures for the 23rd Fusiliers (647 rank-and-file, 15 killed, 84 wounded) and the official strength of 639 rank-and-file plus 35 sergeants and 23 drummers, actual figures may have been 672 rank-and-file, 14 killed, 87 wounded (see *Medal Rolls, 23rd Foot . . . Napoleonic Period*, N. Holme & E.L. Kirby, Caernarfon & London, 1978).

Casualty figures are taken from Siborne, which apparently are based upon those given by Wellington's dispatch of 30 June and published in the *London Gazette* of 30 July 1815. The nominal roll of officer casualties was published in the *London Gazette* of 22 June and (primarily) 3 July 1815; but the most comprehensive listing is *The Waterloo Roll Call*, C. Dalton (London, 1904). Officers are listed under their regimental ranks, and officer strengths include 'staff' (quartermaster, paymaster, medical officers). Units are listed in order of seniority, but with those uncommitted at Waterloo listed at the end. Battalion numbers are given only for those with more than one battalion in existence at this time (although even single-battalion regiments were styled '1st btn' in some of the documents of the period).

Abbreviations used in listings:

F	= facing colour
x 1,	= buttons, lace spaced
x 2 etc.	= equally, in pairs, etc.
Cap	= 'Belgic' shako unless specified otherwise.
SBP	= shoulder belt plate
CO	= commanding officer
SUO	= senior unwounded officer
QB	= Quatre Bras: if neither specified, then in action W only
W	= Waterloo
off	= officers
sgt	= sergeant
dmr	= drummer
OR	= other ranks
grens	= regimental grenadier company
kil	= killed in action
wd	= wounded
msg	= missing
JSAHR	= <i>Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research</i>

Regiments at Waterloo:

2nd Bn., 1st Foot Guards

Uniform: F blue; off's lace gold, F

edged with broad gold lace; sgs' lace gold; ORs' lace bastion-shaped, white, x1. Cap plate bore Garter Star with reversed 'GR' cypher in centre, cypher backed with red enamel for off's; separate hugh above plate for lt. coy., or hugh over star⁽³⁾.

Foot Guards wore waterproof cap-covers, as did other infantry regiments (though evidence regarding their use is not clear in all cases); for the 1/1st Foot Guards covers are described in regtl. order books as having black tape strings to tie under the chin when required. The same notes that grey overall-trousers were worn by the 1st Regt., as general in the line infantry.

SBP: rectangular, rounded corners, design mounted; crowned Garter surrounding 'III' superimposed upon reversed 'GR'. Conceivable that some officers may have worn the long-tailed coat (undress frock) at Waterloo: Gronow records that one of his coat-tails was shot off. Sergeants may have worn their old sashes (crimson with white stripe) but more likely sashes were all-crimson. Regtl. orders specify that Foot Guards sergeant-majors would wear two epaulettes similar to those worn by adjutants.⁽⁴⁾

CO: Col. Henry Askew — regtl. rank Second Major (wd). SUO: Capt. Goodwin Colquitt. Casualties: QB: 2 off, 1 sgt, 22 OR kd; 4 off, 6 sgt, 250 OR wd. W: 1 off, 50 OR kd; 5 off, 7 sgt, 89 OR wd.

3rd Bn., 1st Foot Guards

Uniform: as 2nd Bn.

CO: Col. Hon. William Stewart — regtl. rank, Third Major (wd). SUO: Capt. Alexander, Lord Saltoun. Casualties: QB: 1 off, 2 sgt, 1 dmr, 17 OR kd; 6 off, 9 sgt, 1 dmr, 225 OR wd. W: 3 off, 2 sgt, 79 OR kd; 6 off, 7 sgt, 238 OR wd (one off, mortally).

17 1st Guards off's. employed on staff duty, from all three bns.: 2 kd, 3 wd.

2nd Bn., 2nd (Coldstream) Foot Guards

Uniform: F blue; off's lace gold, F edged with broad gold lace; sgs' lace gold, ORs' pointed, white, x2. Cap plate bore silver Garter Star with coloured enamel as on SBP, ORs' same in brass; lt. coy. distinctions as for 1st Guards. SBP: oval gilt plate with headed rim, bearing silver Garter Star, gilt Garter backed with blue enamel, red cross in centre; ORs' same but brass, incised design; flank coy. plates perhaps retaining grenade or hugh above the star, but these perhaps discontinued c.1812. Sgs' sashes crimson; lt. coy. sgs. apparently carried serrated-edged sabres, 'made applicable to the purposes of a Saw'⁽⁵⁾. Regtl. order books note that while 1st Guards were to wear grey trousers, the 2nd and 3rd were to retain white overalls — probably explains depiction of white overalls by Dighton and Atkinson.

CO: Col. Alexander G. Woodford — regtl. rank, Second Major. Casualties: 1 off, 1 sgt, 53 OR kd; 7 off, 13 sgt, 229 OR wd; 1 dmr, 3 OR msg (one off, mortally wd). 6 off, on staff duty, of whom 1 wd.



Grenadier, 92nd Highlanders — an engraving after Finart which shows the peak tied on to the bonnet for campaign use, but which was expressly forbidden by regimental orders.

2nd Bn. 3rd (Scots) Foot Guards

Uniform: F blue, off's lace gold, facings edged with broad gold lace; sgs' lace gold; ORs' white, pointed, x3. Cap plate bore Star of Order of Thistle as on SBP, brass plate for ORs. SBP: oval gilt plate with silver rim, bearing silver Thistle Star with gilt strap backed with green enamel, enclosing gilt thistle with red flower on green ground; ORs' plate same design in brass. Sgs' sashes perhaps old crimson/white/blue striped version but by 1815 probably all-crimson. For details of the regiment's overalls, see 2nd Foot Guards above. CO: Col. Francis Hepburn — regtl. rank, Second Major. Casualties: QB: 7 OR wd. W: 3 off, 2 sgt, 37 OR kd; 9 off, 10 sgt, 178 OR wd (1 off, mortally). 4 off. on staff duty; 3 kd.

3rd Bn., 1st Regt. (Royal Scots)

Uniform: F blue; off's lace gold, embroidered loops, but said to have worn plain jackets on campaign; ORs' lace bastion, x 1, blue double worm appearing as chain-pattern (from 1812: previously square, x2.) Off's cap plate had 'GR' within thistle-wreath, over St. Andrew upon a star with spray of thistles (left) and rose-and-shamrock (right), over sphinx within laurel wreath, over scroll inscribed 'The Scots/Royal'. ORs' plate probably had 'GR' over



A grenadier of the 3rd Foot Guards shown in a Martinet engraving executed shortly after Waterloo; the fur headdress was, of course, not worn on campaign. Note the breast-loops of lace worn in threes; and the regimental badge carried on the knapsack. Dighton shows the Garter Star painted in full colours on the knapsacks of the 2nd Foot Guards at Waterloo.

'1'. SBP: 3rd Bn. pattern silver, engraved design of crowned strap bearing motto of Order of Thistle ('Nemo Me Impune Lacessit') enclosing '3rd/Battalion', over thistle wreath, over sphinx; same scroll below. ORs' pattern perhaps as other bns., brass, oblong with rounded corners (or earlier oval), bearing crowned strap of Thistle, enclosing a thistle, with scroll below inscribed 'Royals'. ORs of flank coys. wore blue wings (normally restricted to Foot Guards). Gorgets had badge on arms, oval crowned strap bearing Thistle motto, thistle with two leaves in the middle, small scroll below inscribed 'The Royal'. Offs carried regimental sword, like 1796 pattern but many with double-edged blades, with regtl. badge on inside of shell-guards; examples known with brass scabbard engraved with regtl. badge. Flank coy. offs carried 1803 sabre with same badges on hase of guard.

CO: Maj. Colin Campbell (wd). SUO: Capt. William Gordon. *Casualties*: QB: 6 off, 2 sgt, 18 OR kd; 12 off, 13 sgt, 167 OR wd. W: 2 off, 1 sgt, 12 OR kd; 14 off, 4 sgt, 111 OR wd. (Actual off. casualties: 7 kd, 23 plus volunteer wd; excluding staff, only 6 offs unscathed). This exemplifies how official casualty figures may be in error: the official dispatch describes Ensign Charles Graham as 'killed', whereas he survived; states that Lt. Robert H. Scott was wounded (an ex-4th Bn. off. who does not appear in Dalton: evidently Lt. John Stoyte is intended); and Capts. Arguimbau and Massey were returned as 'wounded' at both QB and W).

1st Bn., 4th (King's Own) Regt.

Uniform: F blue; offs' lace gold (but wore undress jackets without lace); ORs' lace bastion ('flowerpot')⁽⁶⁾ x1, blue stripe. Offs' cap plate gilt with cypher over silver lion over silver 'IV'; ORs' brass, lion within Garter, over cypher surrounded by scroll inscribed 'King's Own Infantry'. SBP: probably rectangular with cut corners, gilt with mounted silver design, lion over 'IV' within crowned strap inscribed 'The King's Own Regiment'; ORs' probably the same, die-struck brass, strap inscribed 'King's Own Regiment'. ORs wore grey cloth forage caps, 1813; knapsacks marked on back with regtl. number, but pioneers had calfskin knapsacks.

CO: Lt. Col. Francis Brooke. Apparently only 4 captains present, not replaced after New Orleans, but see Dalton p.121. *Casualties*: 2 sgt, 10 OR kd; 9 off, 6 sgt, 107 OR wd.

3rd Bn., 14th (Buckinghamshire) Regt.

Uniform: F buff; offs' lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); ORs' square, x2, buff stripe on one edge, blue/red on other (Pearse); one version of Hamilton Smith shows blue stripe. Cap plate with cypher 'over 14'. SBP: shown in portrait, Paris 1815, as oval, silver, bearing '14'⁽⁷⁾, an old or perhaps 3rd Bn. pattern; alternative rectangular, rounded corners, bearing '14' in laurel wreath (stated as early as 1800 by Parkyn, 1808 by S.M. Milne). This was evidently one battalion which definitely did have cap-covers: 16-year-old Ensign Hon. George Keppel recorded removing cords and tassels from shako, it being

too heavy with the cover on. As in the case of several regts., stories exist of newly-recruited militiamen serving at Waterloo still wearing Militia uniform, in this case Bedfordshire (green F, lace square, x1, red and green stripe) and Royal Berkshire (blue F, lace bastion, x1, blue stripe)⁽⁸⁾. CO: Major Francis Skelly Tidy. *Casualties*: 7 OR kd; 1 off, 5 sgt, 16 OR wd.

1st Bn. 23rd Regt. (Royal Welch Fusiliers)

Uniform: F blue; offs' lace gold, hut-tons x1, ORs' bastion ('jew's harp')⁽⁶⁾, x1, red, blue and yellow stripes. As fusilier regt. all wore wings, for field officers beneath the epaulettes as for lt. infantry. Fusilier cap worn only in full dress; on campaign, Belgic shako; offs' plate gilt, bearing silver scroll inscribed 'Minden' over two gilt straps — left bearing unit title and enclosing silver Prince of Wales' feathers, right bearing Garter motto and enclosing silver 'GR'; at bottom, silver sphinx on 'Egypt' plinth over gilt 'XXIII'. ORs' plate brass bearing 'GR' over feathers (left) and sphinx (right), all over 'XXIII'. Alternative officers' version similar, but in gilt with silver plumes and sphinx. SBP: probably rectangular, rounded corners, gilt, bearing crowned strap bearing title surrounding feathers over 'XXIII'; earlier version oval, gilt, bearing silver feathers over '23'. ORs' plate similar with incised design; Hamilton Smith shows brass rectangular plate. Offs. probably retained bunch of queue-ribbons at rear of collar; and carried regtl.-pattern sabre, gilt stirrup hilt with lion-head pommel, large langets bearing Prince of Wales' feathers. (One extant similar to that of 52nd, without lion-pommel and langets.⁽⁹⁾)

CO: Lt. Col. Sir Henry Walton Ellis (mortality wd.) SUO: Maj. Thomas Dalmer. *Casualties*: 4 off, 2 sgt, 9 OR kd; 6 off, 7 sgt, 71 OR wd (two off. mortally). This regt. provides a further example of confusion in casualty-rolls: 1st Lt. A.G. Sidley returned as 'wounded' in dispatch but not given as such in Dalton; whereas Dalton notes 2nd Lt. William Leeboddy as killed, whereas actually slain in attack on Cambrai, 24 June 1815 (see Holme & Kirhy, op.cit., pp.61,57).

1st Bn., 27th (Enniskillen) Regt.

Uniform: F buff; offs' lace gold (but 'unlaced' regt.); ORs' square, x1, red and blue stripes at opposite edges. Two designs of cap plate recorded: cypher over '27', or smaller cypher over castle, over scroll inscribed 'Enniskillen' over '27'. P.W. Reynolds shows lt. coy. with bugle shako badge and white cords (hut green plume). SBP: several recorded, dates uncertain: (1) oval, gilt, bearing silver mounted design of castle over '27' over 'Enniskillings' (sic); (2) oval, gilt, silver castle on silver rayed oval within gilt crowned strap inscribed 'Enniskillen'; (3) rectangular, rounded corners, gilt, mounted design of silver castle over gilt scroll inscribed 'Enniskillen' over silver

'27'; (4) rectangular; gilt, silver mounted design, crown over laurel wreath enclosing castle over '27', gilt raised rim; (5) similar to (3) but with silver hingle beneath scroll (lt. coy.) — associated with jacket of Capt. Charles Parsons, killed 1813⁽¹⁰⁾; (6) rectangular, scroll inscribed 'Enniskillen' over castle over '27' upon an oval. ORs' pattern perhaps like (6), in brass.

CO: Capt. John Hare (wd). SUO: Lt. Wm. Talbot, probably present, but see Dalton p.133; otherwise, Lt. John Betty. *Casualties*: 2 off, 7 sgt, 96 OR kd; 13 off, 10 sgt, 348 OR wd. (actually apparently 14 off. wd. one mortally); hence description of battalion lying dead in a square after battle.

28th (North Gloucestershire) Regt.

Uniform: F bright yellow; offs' lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); ORs' square, x2, yellow stripe in centre, black stripe at each edge⁽⁶⁾. Although a 'Belgic' shako plate exists (cypher over 28), entire regt. probably retained 'stovepipe' cap like that of lt. inf., with separate badges of Royal crest (lion on crown) above '28', with scrolls above inscribed 'Barossa' and below inscribed 'Peninsula', all in brass (but example recorded with silver Royal crest). Diamond-shaped badge at rear bearing sphinx, commemorating Alexandria 1801, in brass (but silver for musicians). George Jones shows Lt.Col. Belson wearing light inf. 'stovepipe' at Quatre Bras, suggesting whole bn. wore it, not just flank coys. as has been speculated. SBP: oblong, rounded corners, silver, mounted device of Royal crest above '28'; ORs' perhaps oval, brass, 'G' crown/'R' over '28' over 'Regiment', but this perhaps earlier. Gren. coy. wore calfskin knapsacks captured in Egypt; Col. Grazebrook described 'goatskin' knapsacks with red circle on flap edged with green laurel, crown above and sphinx and '28' in centre; Jones shows knapsacks bearing '28'. Regtl. system of merit badges worn above NCO chevrons, introduced by Sir C.P. Belson in Peninsular War: embroidered crown for gallantry in field, star for 'steady good conduct in quarters'⁽¹¹⁾. Portrait of Capt. Charles Cadell shows silver lace on overalls. A possible regtl. pattern flank coy. sabre is extant, like 1803 general offs' pattern, gilded hilt and scabbard and regtl. devices limited to etching on blade (perhaps simply personal weapon). Story exists of recruits from Royal Tyrone Militia serving at Waterloo in Militia uniform: blue F, lace bastion, x1, 1 red and 1 blue stripe.

CO: Lt.Col. Sir Charles P. Belson. *Casualties*: QB: 11 OR kd; 4 off, 4 sgt, 56 OR wd. W: 1 off, 1 sgt, 17 OR kd; 15 off, 6 sgt, 1 dmr, 136 OR wd. (Actual off. casualties: 3 kd, 16 wd; some returned 'wounded' later died, e.g. Lt. G. Ingram, leg amputated but died when tourniquet slipped).

continued on page 14

2nd Bn., 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regt.

Uniform: F pale yellow; off's lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); buttons x2; ORs' bastion, x1, sky-blue stripe. Cap plate with cypher over '30'. SBP: oval, silver, bearing either '30' or '30' within laurel wreath. Flank coy. pattern similar, but (for grens) grenade over '30', presumably lt. coy. with bugle.

CO: Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton (wd). *SUO:* Capt. Robert Howard. *Casualties:* QB: 1 sgt, 4 OR kd; 2 off, 2 sgt, 26 OR wd; 5 OR msg. *Retreat to W:* 1 OR kd, 2 OR wd, 8 OR msg. *W:* 6 off, 3 sgt, 1 dmr, 41 OR kd; 12 off, 6 sgt, 145 OR wd; 2 dmr, 12 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 6 kd, 16 wd.)

32nd (Cornwall) Regt.

Uniform: F white; off's lace gold (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons x2; ORs' square, x2, black worm and black stripe. Apparently 'general' pattern cap plate, no numbered version recorded⁽¹²⁾. SBP: probably oblong, rounded corners, gilt with mounted silver design, '32' within crowned strap inscribed 'Cornwall'; alternative earlier version oval, gilt, bearing crown over '32'. ORs' probably rectangular, as off's but stamped brass, though earlier variety recorded as oval, bearing crown over '32'. Story exists of recruits from Royal Tyrone Militia serving at Waterloo in Militia uniforms (see 28th).

CO: Maj. John Hicks. *Casualties:* QB: 1 off, 21 OR kd; 21 off, 4 sgt, 1 dmr, 148 OR wd. *W:* 28 OR kd; 9 off, 11 sgt, 126 OR wd. (Dalton off. casualties: 3 kd, 22 wd.)

33rd (1st Yorkshire West Riding) Regt.

Uniform: F red, ORs' shoulder straps white⁽⁶⁾, off's lace silver, buttons x2; ORs' bastion ('jew's harp')⁽⁶⁾ x2, red stripe in middle. Cap plate bore cypher over '33', at least two, perhaps three different shapes of figures recorded; lt. coy. wore 1814-pattern horn badge over regtl. number (extant cap). SBP: oval, silver, engraved '33' within crowned strap inscribed 'First Yorkshire West Riding'.

CO: Lt. Col. William Elphinstone. *Casualties:* QB: 3 off, 1 sgt, 15 OR kd; 7 off, 3 sgt, 64 OR wd; 1 sgt, 8 OR msg; *Retreat to W:* 3 OR wd; 1 sgt msg. *W:* 2 off, 1 sgt, 1 dmr, 31 OR kd; 10 off, 8 sgt, 84 OR wd; 3 dmr, 45 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 7 kd, 14 wd). One off. on staff duty.

1st Bn., 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regt.

Uniform: F buff; off's lace gold (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons x2; ORs' square, x2, 1 red and 1 black stripe. Regtl. history shows off's plate with indistinct design including strap device, ORs' with blackened (?) cypher. SBP: oval, gilt, with raised silver rim and silver mounted design, '40' within laurel wreath.

CO: Maj. Arthur Heyland (kd). *SUO:* Maj. Fielding Browne. *Casualties:* 2 off, 5 sgt, 25 OR kd; 10 off, 16 sgt, 1 dmr, 142 OR wd; 18 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 3 kd

— Lt. Frederick Ford's wound mortal — 12 wd.)

42nd (Royal Highland) Regt.

Uniform: F blue; off's lace gold, buttons x1; ORs' bastion, x1, red stripe near edge⁽⁶⁾; sgts' silver, Kay (1816) showing Sgt. Mjr. William Duff with square-ended loops, perhaps in imitation of off's style, and off's sash. Highland dress; tartan 'Government' sett ('Black Watch'); but pipers, 'music tartan' either Royal Stewart or 'Atholl', latter apparently also worn by grenadiers — 'Government' sett with red overstripe⁽¹³⁾. Offs, dark grey or blue overalls with double red stripe. Black edging to red checks on hose. Sashes worn over shoulder. Feather bonnet with plume probably red for coys., red-over-white for grens, red-over-green for lt. coy., possibly red-over-yellow for dmrs; cockade black with regtl. button for bn. coy. (gilt sphinx for officers), red with grenade over sphinx for grens (offs grenade and sphinx alone, no cockade), green edged red bearing bugle over sphinx for lt. coy., red edged black with sphinx over '42' for dmrs; detachable peaks. (Jones' plate of death of Macara at QB shows no peaks). SBP: probably rectangular, rounded corners, gilt, mounted silver design: St. Andrew and cross within gilt strap inscribed 'The Royal Highlanders' in silver; below strap, silver sphinx on 'Egypt' plinth. ORs' rectangular, rounded corners, brass, incised '42' on oval with Star of Order of Thistle.⁽¹⁴⁾

CO: Lt. Col. Sir Robert Macara (kd). *SUO:* Capt. John Campbell. *Casualties:* QB: 3 off, 2 sgt, 40 OR kd; 15 off, 14 sgt, 1 dmr, 213 OR wd. *W:* 4 OR kd; 6 off, 6 sgt, 33 OR wd. (Actual off. casualties: 3 kd, 19 wd, one mortally.)

2nd Bn., 44th (East Essex) Regt.

Uniform: F yellow; off's lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons extant jacket lack 'twist' loops, buttons, on collar⁽¹⁵⁾. ORs' lace square, x1, blue, yellow and black stripes. Cap plate, cypher over '44'. SBP: rectangular, rounded corners, silver with mounted design, sphinx within crowned strap inscribed 'Forty Four'. Extant gorget of usual pattern plus '44' within laurel wreath on each arm.

CO: Lt. Col. John Hamerton (wd). *SUO:* Maj. George O'Malley. *Casualties:* QB: 2 off, 1 sgt, 9 OR kd; 15 off, 12 sgt, 82 OR wd; 1 sgt, 2 dmr, 14 OR msg. *W:* 4 OR kd; 3 off, 3 sgt, 54 OR wd. (Dalton off. casualties: 2 kd, 12 wd). One off. on staff duty.

51st (2nd Yorkshire West Riding) Regt. (Light Infantry)

Uniform: F grass green; off's lace gold; ORs' x2, either square-ended (De Bosset) or pointed (one version of Hamilton Smith shows green worn or stripe near edge). Lt. inf. distinctions (i.e. all wore wings; sashes of corded pattern) Lt. inf. shako with bugle badge (Cramer shows officer with gilt badge, dark green or black cap-lines, lace loops

on 'inside' and 'outside' of lapels, two buttons and loops on collar). SBP: rectangular, rounded corners, gilt, mounted silver design of '51' within bugle, within crowned laurel wreath, scroll inscribed 'Minden' below. ORs probably wore same in brass (Wheeler mentions presence of 'Minden' on their SBPs). Parkyn describes later plate, date unknown, similar design but '51' inside bugle within wreath, lower scroll inscribed 'Ich Dien'.

CO: Lt. Col. Hugh Mitchell commanded the bde.; regtl. CO was his deputy, Maj. Samuel Rice. *Casualties:* 1 dmr, 8 OR kd; 2 off, 20 OR wd.

1st Bn., 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regt. (Light Infantry)

Uniform: F buff; off's lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); buttons x2, one on collar; ORs' lace square, x2, various recorded (red stripe between two blue; black stripe on one edge and buff on the other.) One extant jacket has lapels lined buff, another in scarlet⁽¹⁶⁾. Lt. inf. uniform. Lt. inf. cap with white-metal bugle badge; S.M. Milne mentions cap-covers. SBP: silver, rectangular, with either large '52' or engraved with '52' within crowned strap inscribed 'Oxford Regt.'; ORs' plate shown by Hamilton Smith brass, rectangular, large '52'. Offs. carried regtl. pattern sabre, steel stirrup hilt, steel scabbard, bugle on grip; extant non-official version has gilt hilt with bugle on langets instead of grip. Survivors of 'forlorn hope' at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz wore laurel wreath with 'V.S.' below ('vahan stormer') on right arm.⁽¹⁷⁾

CO: Lt. Col. Sir John Colborne. *Casualties:* 1 off, 16 OR kd; 8 off, 8 sgt, 166 OR wd. (Dalton states 1 off. kd, 9 wd). Two off. on staff duty.

2nd Bn., 69th (South Lincolnshire) Regt.

Uniform: F willow green; off's lace gold, buttons x2, one on collar; extant jacket ascribed Lt. Henry Anderson (lt. coy., Waterloo) has gold loops; another, said to be his undress jacket, was 'unlaced'⁽¹⁸⁾. ORs' lace square, x2, green stripe in centre, red stripe each edge. Regtl. pattern cap plate not known. SBP: oval, gilt, beaded edge, bearing silver star with gilt oval strap in centre inscribed 'South Lincoln', surrounding gilt oval bearing silver '69'. CO: Lt. Col. Charles Morice (killed QB). *SUO:* Maj. George Muttelbury. *Casualties:* QB: 1 off, 4 sgt, 33 OR kd; 4 off, 6 sgt, 1 dmr, 103 OR wd. *Retreat to W:* 1 sgt, 2 OR wd. *W:* 3 off, 14 OR kd; 3 off, 50 OR wd; 2 dmrs, 13 ORs msg. (One off. on staff duty, Capt. Hon. William Carron, plus Capt. Benjamin Hobhouse acting as Halkett's orderly; both kd.)

71st (Highland) Regt. (Light Infantry)

Uniform: F buff; off's lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); buttons on officers' jacket 10/12 on breast, 2 on collar, equally spaced; but 1814 portrait Lt. Col. George Napier has buttons in pairs and one on collar, though

this may be his old 52nd jacket re-used. ORs' lace square, x1, red stripe. Headdress, blue Highland bonnet, diced lower band, blocked into shape of lt. inf. shako, bugle badge, red or green toorie (pompon) on top, green plume often shown at front (George Jones shows no toorie); officers wore ordinary lt. inf. shako. Sashes worn Highland style, over shoulder. SBP: silver, rectangular, rounded corners, engraved with crowned bugle over '71' within spray-wreath of thistles (left) and roses (right); extant example has same design mounted. P.W. Reynolds shows brass plate stated to be perhaps ORs' pattern of this date, apparently resembling earlier officers' pattern: rectangular, '71' within crowned French scroll backed by trophy of arms, fasces below with tablet inscribed 'Regiment' and scroll below inscribed 'Highland'. Extant officers' waist belt clasp cast silver, bearing thistle-wreath enclosing bugle with '71' in centre. Officers' regtl. pattern sabre had steel knuckle-bow, oval silver badges on langets, one with bugle over '71' within oval inscribed 'Highland Light Infantry', other a thistle within 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit'. Pipers wore ordinary uniform, not Highland dress, on campaign, as shown by Capt. Jones.

CO: Lt. Col. Thomas Reynell (wd.) *SUO:* Maj. Leslie Walker. *Casualties:* 1 off, 1 sgt, 23 OR kd; 14 off, 7 sgt, 3 dmr, 150 OR wd; 3 ORs msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 1 kd, 15 wd, 1 mortally). One off. on staff duty: kd.

2nd Bn., 73rd (Highland) Regt.

Uniform: F very dark green; off's lace gold, buttons x1, no loops but facings edged with broad gold lace in imitation of Foot Guards (who objected in 1814 to similarity); apparently a looped jacket existed for full dress, shown by Goddard & Booth⁽¹⁹⁾; P.W. Reynolds confirmed the existence of an example, no longer extant. ORs' lace bastion, x1, red stripe near edge. Cap plate design unknown ('general' pattern?). SBP: several versions recorded for off's, that in portrait c.1816 of Capt. William Wharton presumably that used at Waterloo: ohlong, cut corners, gilt, mounted silver design of number within thistle-spray, honour 'Mangalore' below. ORs' probably brass, rectangular, rounded corners. '73' within spray of thistles, crown above, 'Mangalore' below. Engraving by Hopwood (pub. 1816 but poss. dating from before regt. de-kilted, 1809) shows Lt. Col. W.G. Harris with single loop on collar and sash worn Highland style over shoulder⁽²⁰⁾. 2/73rd Standing Orders 1812 note for off's. grey trousers and half-gaiters with shoes for marching order, grey overalls for field off's. and adjutant; 'private parades', grey pantaloons and half-boots; Sundays, white breeches and 'long boots' (lt. coy., white pantaloons and half-boots)⁽²¹⁾. Thomas Morris records that officers wore cloaks at Waterloo. Though not uniformed in Highland style after 1809, in 1814 at least they had a piper.

ORDER OF BATTLE, BRITISH INFANTRY, 18 JUNE 1815

Strengths on the morning of 18 June are taken from Statistics compiled by Lt. Col. (later Sir) John Waters, Asst. Adj. Gen., published in *Dispatches of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, ed. J. Ginnwood, XII (1838), pp. 486-487. To calculate the approximate strength of battalions at the beginning of the campaign, the losses at Quatre Bras

and on the retreat to Waterloo should be added, though some discrepancies are unavoidable (e.g. men who joined units immediately before the action). Statistics below include 'present sick'; but not those 'on command', or sick and wounded no longer present with their battalion. For further comments on statistics see body text.

Officers Sergeants Drummers Rank & File

1st Division

(Maj. Gen. George Cooke)

1st Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Peregrine Maitland)

2/1st Foot Guards	29	43	21	688
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3/1st Foot Guards	29	40	20	758
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2nd Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir John Byng)

2/2nd Foot Guards	36	58	16	988
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2/3rd Foot Guards	35	57	10	998
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2nd Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton)

3rd Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir Frederick Adam)

1/52nd Foot	59	66	22	1,002
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71st Foot	50	61	21	804
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2/95th Foot	34	38	17	577
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3/95th Foot	10	11	6	178
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3rd Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Alten)

5th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir Colin Halkett)

2/30th Foot	40	33	14	548
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33rd Foot	31	22	12	511
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2/69th Foot	30	29	19	487
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2/73rd Foot	23	32	17	426
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4th Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Colville)

4th Brigade

(Lt. Col. H.H. Mitchell, 51st)

3/14th Foot	38	34	11	557
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1/23rd Foot	44	35	23	639
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51st Foot	45	39	16	526
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5th Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Thomas Picton)

8th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir James Kempt)

28th Foot	35	37	27	458
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32nd Foot	26	36	14	427
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79th Foot	26	30	10	379
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1/95th Foot	17	27	10	364
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9th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir Denis Pack)

3/1st Foot	36	34	17	366
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42nd Foot	17	25	15	281
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2/44th Foot	30	41	15	408
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92nd Foot	22	27	12	361
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6th Division

(Lt. Gen. Hon. Sir Lowry Cole, absent; Lambert commanded his own bde., the other being assigned to Picton)

10th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir John Lambert)

1/4th Foot	27	36	12	602
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1/27th Foot	21	34	8	687
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1/40th Foot	43	55	17	747
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Units not in combat at Waterloo, but awarded the Medal:
4th Div., 6th Bde. (Maj. Gen. George Johnstone) 2/35th, 54th, 2/59th, 91st Foot

Units forming part of the Army but not at Waterloo:

7th Div., 7th Bde.: 2/25th, 2/37th, 2/78th Foot (From 10th Bde., retained at Brussels; 2/81st Garrison troops 13th Veteran Bn., 1st Foreign Veteran Bn., 2nd Garrison Bn.

CO: Lt. Col. William Harris (wd).
SUO: Lt. Richard Leyne; but Maj. Dawson Kelly, serving as Asst. QMG, took command at Waterloo

when a sgt. informed him that 'all' the offs. were casualties. Casualties: QB: 1 dmr, 3 OR kd; 4 off, 1 sgt, 43 OR wd. Retreat to W 1 off, 3 OR kd.

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

Plate I

Top, left to right:

Officer, Light Company, 1st Foot Guards

Officer, Centre Company, 32nd Foot

Officer, 52nd Light Infantry (officers of regimental light coys. would be similarly dressed).

Officer, Grenadier Company, 4th Foot

Officer, 95th Rifles

The schema — key:

(1) Officer's lace (2) Facing colour

(3) Officer's button spacing (4)

Other Ranks' button spacing, lace style (5) Epaulette, wing or

shoulder strap (6) Other Ranks' lace (7) Cop plate (8) Shoulder

belt plate

Details, left to right,

top to bottom:

1st Foot Guards: Centre

Coy. officer's epaulette; OR's

cap & SB plates.

2nd Foot Guards: Grenadier

Coy. officer's wing; officer's

cap & SB plates.

3rd Foot Guards: Centre

Coy. officer's epaulette; officer's

cap & SB plates.

1st Foot: OR's Flank Coy. wing;

officer's cap & SB plates.

4th Foot: Grenadier Coy. officer's

wing; officer's cap & OR's SB plates.

14th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epaulette; OR's cap & officer's SB plates.

23rd Foot: Officer's wing; OR's

cap, officer's SB plates.

27th Foot: Light Coy. officer's

wing; OR's cap plate; officer's

SB plate (type 3 — see text listing).

28th Foot: Grenadier Coy.

officer's wing; OR's shako

ornaments; officer's SB plate.

30th Foot: Grenadier Coy.

officer's wing; officer's cap & SB plates.

32nd Foot: Light Coy. officer's

wing; OR's cap & officer's SB plate.

Plate II

Top, left to right:

Sergeant, Centre Coy., 2nd Foot

Guards

Sergeant-Major, 33rd Foot

Sergeant, Centre Coy., 27th Foot

Sergeant, Centre Coy., 28th Foot

Sergeant, Grenadier Coy., 14th

Foot (armed and equipped the

same as Centre Coy. sergeants).

Inset: Colour Sergeant's badge

Details, left to right,

top to bottom:

33rd Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epaulette; officer's cap & SB

plates.

40th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epaulette; officer's cap & SB

plates.

42nd Highlanders: Centre

Coy. officer's epaulette; Light

Coy. OR's cockade; OR's SB

plate.

44th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epaulette; OR's cap & officer's

SB plates.

51st Light Infantry: Officer's

wing; officer's cap & SB plates.

52nd LI: Officer's wing; officer's

cap & SB plates.

69th Foot: Grenadier Coy.

officer's wing; cop plate

unknown; officer's SB plate.

71st Highland LI: Officer's

wing; OR's cap & officer's SB

plates.

73rd Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epaulette; cap plate unknown;

OR's SB plate.

79th Highlanders: Grenadier

Coy. officer's wing; officer's

cockade, OR's SB plate.

92nd Highlanders: Centre

Coy. officer's epaulette; OR's

cockade & SB plate.

95th Rifles: Sergeant's cop plate,

chevrons, cuff and shoulder strap.

W: 5 off, 3 sgt, 1 dmr, 43 OR kd; 12 off, 13 sgt, 2 dmr, 160 OR wd; 41 OR msg. (Two offs. returned as 'wounded' died.)

79th Regt. (Cameron Highlanders)

Uniform: F dark green; offs' lace gold, buttons x2; ORs' square, x2, 1 yellow between 2 red stripes. Highland dress: kilts Cameron of Erracht sett (basically Macdonald minus 3 red lines, plus yellow overstripe); black gaiters. Offs. wore grey overalls, some sources noting red stripes; Lt. John Ford records use of blue or tartan trousers in Peninsula⁽²²⁾. Peaked feather bonnet with diced band and falling 'tails' at left (N.B. not worn by 42nd), offs' cockades with silver sphinx (bn. coys.), grenade or bugle (flanks coys.). Ford notes offs' lapels buttoned back to show green lining only e.g. when dining out; and that while bn. coy. ORs had small woolen tufts on shoulder straps, flank coy. wings were ornamented with fringe. SBP: oval, gilt, silver mounted design of '79' on green ground within crowned strap inscribed 'Cameron Highlanders'; Ford states with silver rim. ORs'

plate probably the same, brass, incised design, though Ford records examples of original plate inscribed 'Cameronian Volunteers' (title pre-1804) as late as end of Peninsular War. Another recorded variety bears crowned thistle with 'Gill' and 'R' at sides, 'LXXXIX' below. Bn. offs. carried broadswords with gilt hilts, flank coy. offs. sabres; none wore waist belts except medical officers. CO: Lt. Col. Neil Douglas (wd). SUO: Capt. Peter Innes. Casualties: QB: 1 off, 28 OR kd; 16 off, 10 sgt, 248 OR wd; 1 off msg. W: 2 off, 2 sgt, 27 OR kd; 11 off, 7 sgt, 4 dmr, 121 OR wd; 1 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 4 kd, 26 wd inc. 4 mortally.)

92nd Regt. (Gordon Highlanders)

Uniform: F yellow; offs' lace silver, interwoven black line; buttons x2, one loop on collar. ORs' lace square, x2, blue stripe near edge. Highland dress: kilt Gordon tartan ('Govt' sett plus yellow overstripe), black gaiters. Feather bonnet with 'tails', peaks expressly forbidden by regtl. orders but shown in contemporary illus.; lt. coy. red cockades, others black, bearing white metal sphinx;

continued on page 18

2nd Bn., 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regt.

Uniform: F pale yellow; off's' lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); buttons x2; ORs' bastion, x1, sky-blue stripe. Cap plate with cypher over '30'. SBP: oval, silver, bearing either '30' or '30' within laurel wreath. Flank coy. pattern similar, hut (for grens) grenade over '30', presumably lt. coy. with bugle.

CO: Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton (wd). SUO: Capt. Robert Howard. *Casualties:* QB: 1 sgt, 4 OR kd; 2 off, 2 sgt, 26 OR wd; 5 OR msg. *Retreat to W:* 1 OR kd, 2 OR wd, 8 OR msg. W: 6 off, 3 sgt, 1 dmr, 41 OR kd; 12 off, 6 sgt, 145 OR wd; 2 dmr, 12 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 6 kd, 16 wd.)

32nd (Cornwall) Regt.

Uniform: F white; off's' lace gold (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons x2; ORs' square, x2, black worm and black stripe. Apparently 'general' pattern cap plate, no numbered version recorded⁽¹²⁾. SBP: probably ohlong, rounded corners, gilt with mounted silver design, '32' within crowned strap inscribed 'Cornwall'; alternative earlier version oval, gilt, bearing crown over '32'. ORs' probably rectangular, as off's' but stamped brass, though earlier variety recorded as oval, bearing crown over '32'. Story exists of recruits from Royal Tyrone Militia serving at Waterloo in Militia uniforms (see 28th).

CO: Maj. John Hicks. *Casualties:* QB: 1 off, 21 OR kd; 21 off, 4 sgt, 1 dmr, 148 OR wd. W: 28 OR kd; 9 off, 11 sgt, 126 OR wd. (Dalton off. casualties: 3 kd, 22 wd.)

33rd (1st Yorkshire West Riding) Regt.

Uniform: F red, ORs' shoulder straps white⁽⁶⁾, off's' lace silver, buttons x2; ORs' hessian ('jew's harp')⁽⁶⁾ x2, red stripe in middle. Cap plate bore cypher over '33', at least two, perhaps three different shapes of figures recorded; lt. coy. wore 1814-pattern horn badge over regtl. number (extant cap). SBP: oval, silver, engraved '33' within crowned strap inscribed '1st Yorkshire West Riding'.

CO: Lt. Col. William Elphinstone. *Casualties:* QB: 3 off, 1 sgt, 15 OR kd; 7 off, 3 sgt, 64 OR wd; 1 sgt, 8 OR msg; *Retreat to W:* 3 OR wd; 1 sgt msg. W: 2 off, 1 sgt, 1 dmr, 31 OR kd; 10 off, 8 sgt, 84 OR wd; 3 dmr, 45 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 7 kd, 14 wd). One off. on staff duty.

1st Bn., 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regt.

Uniform: F buff; off's' lace gold (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons x2; ORs' square, x2, 1 red and 1 black stripe. Regtl. history shows off's' plate with indistinct design including strap device, ORs' with blackened (?) cypher. SBP: oval, gilt, with raised silver rim and silver mounted design, '40' within laurel wreath.

CO: Maj. Arthur Heyland (kd). SUO: Maj. Fielding Browne. *Casualties:* 2 off, 5 sgt, 25 OR kd; 10 off, 16 sgt, 1 dmr, 142 OR wd; 18 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 3 kd

— Lt. Frederick Ford's wound mortal — 12 wd.)

42nd (Royal Highland) Regt.

Uniform: F blue; off's' lace gold, buttons x1; ORs' bastion, x1, red stripe near edge⁽⁶⁾; sgts' silver, Kay (1816) showing Sgt. Mjr. William Duff with square-ended loops, perhaps in imitation of off's' style, and off's' sash. Highland dress; tartan 'Government' sett ('Black Watch'); but pipers, 'music tartan' either Royal Stewart or 'Atholl', latter apparently also worn by grenadiers — 'Government' sett with red overstripe⁽¹³⁾. Offs, dark grey or blue overalls with double red stripe. Black edging to red checks on hose. Sashes worn over shoulder. Feather bonnet with plume probably red for coys., red-over-white for grens, red-over-green for lt. coy., possibly red-over-yellow for dmrs; cockade black with regtl. button for bn. coy. (gilt sphinx for officers), red with grenade over sphinx for grens (offs' grenade and sphinx alone, no cockade), green edged red bearing bugle over sphinx for lt. coy., red edged black with sphinx over '42' for dmrs; detachable peaks. (Jones' plate of death of Macara at QB shows no peaks). SBP: probably rectangular, rounded corners, gilt, mounted silver design: St. Andrew and cross within gilt strap inscribed 'The Royal Highlanders' in silver; below strap, silver sphinx on 'Egypt' plinth. ORs' rectangular, rounded corners, brass, incised '42' on oval with Star of Order of Thistle.⁽¹⁴⁾

CO: Lt. Col. Sir Robert Macara (kd). SUO: Capt. John Campbell. *Casualties:* QB: 3 off, 2 sgt, 40 OR kd; 15 off, 14 sgt, 1 dmr, 213 OR wd. W: 4 OR kd; 6 off, 6 sgt, 33 OR wd. (Actual off. casualties: 3 kd, 19 wd, one mortally.)

2nd Bn., 44th (East Essex) Regt.

Uniform: F yellow; off's' lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons extant jacket lack 'twist' loops, buttons, on collar⁽¹⁵⁾. ORs' lace square, x1, blue, yellow and black stripes. Cap plate, cypher over '44'. SBP: rectangular, rounded corners, silver with mounted design, sphinx within crowned strap inscribed 'Forty Four'. Extant gorget of usual pattern plus '44' within laurel wreath on each arm.

CO: Lt. Col. John Hamerton (wd). SUO: Maj. George O'Malley. *Casualties:* QB: 2 off, 1 sgt, 9 OR kd; 15 off, 12 sgt, 82 OR wd; 1 sgt, 2 dmr, 14 OR msg. W: 4 OR kd; 3 off, 3 sgt, 54 OR wd. (Dalton off. casualties: 2 kd, 12 wd). One off. on staff duty.

51st (2nd Yorkshire West Riding) Regt. (Light Infantry)

Uniform: F grass green; off's' lace gold; ORs' x2, either square-ended (De Bosset) or pointed (one version of Hamilton Smith shows green worm or stripe near edge). Lt. inf. distinctions (i.e. all wore wings; sashes of corded pattern) Lt. inf. shako with bugle badge (Cramer shows officer with gilt badge, dark green or black cap-lines, lace loops

on 'inside' and 'outside' of lapels, two buttons and loops on collar). SBP: rectangular, rounded corners, gilt, mounted silver design of '51' within bugle, within crowned laurel wreath, scroll inscribed 'Minden' below. ORs probably wore same in brass (Wheeler mentions presence of 'Minden' on their SBPs). Parkyn describes later plate, date unknown, similar design but '51' inside bugle within wreath, lower scroll inscribed 'Ich Dien'.

CO: Lt. Col. Hugh Mitchell commanded the bde.; regtl. CO was his deputy, Maj. Samuel Rice. *Casualties:* 1 dmr, 8 OR kd; 2 off, 20 OR wd.

1st Bn., 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regt. (Light Infantry)

Uniform: F buff; off's' lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); buttons x2, one on collar; ORs' lace square, x2, various recorded (red stripe between two blue; black stripe on one edge and buff on the other.) One extant jacket has lapels lined buff, another in scarlet⁽¹⁶⁾. Lt. inf. uniform. Lt. inf. cap with white-metal bugle badge; S.M. Milne mentions cap-covers. SBP: silver, rectangular, with either large '52' or engraved with '52' within crowned strap inscribed 'Oxford Regt.'; ORs' plate shown by Hamilton Smith brass, rectangular, large '52'. Offs. carried regtl. pattern sabre, steel stirrup hilt, steel scabbard, hagle on grip; extant non-official version has gilt hilt with hagle on langets instead of grip. Survivors of 'forlorn hope' at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz wore laurel wreath with 'V.S.' below ('valiant stormer') on right arm.⁽¹⁷⁾

CO: Lt. Col. Sir John Colborne. *Casualties:* 1 off, 16 OR kd; 8 off, 8 sgt, 166 OR wd. (Dalton states 1 off. kd, 9 wd). Two off. on staff duty.

2nd Bn., 69th (South Lincolnshire) Regt.

Uniform: F willow green; off's' lace gold, buttons x2, one on collar; extant jacket ascribed Lt. Henry Anderson (lt. coy., Waterloo) has gold loops; another, said to be his undress jacket, was 'unlaced'⁽¹⁸⁾. ORs' lace square, x2, green stripe in centre, red stripe each edge. Regtl. pattern cap plate not known. SBP: oval, gilt, beaded edge, bearing silver star with gilt oval strap in centre inscribed 'South Lincoln', surrounding gilt oval bearing silver '69'. CO: Lt. Col. Charles Morice (killed QB). SUO: Maj. George Mittlebury. *Casualties:* QB: 1 off, 4 sgt, 33 OR kd; 4 off, 6 sgt, 1 dmr, 103 OR wd. *Retreat to W:* 1 sgt, 2 OR wd. W: 3 off, 14 OR kd; 3 off, 50 OR wd, 2 dmrs, 13 ORs msg. (One off. on staff duty, Capt. Hon. William Curzon, plus Capt. Benjamin Hobhouse acting as Halkett's orderly; both kd.)

71st (Highland) Regt. (Light Infantry)

Uniform: F buff; off's' lace silver (but 'unlaced' regt.); buttons on officers' jacket 10/12 on breast, 2 on collar, equally spaced; but 1814 portrait Lt. Col. George Napier has buttons in pairs and one on collar, though

this may be his old 52nd jacket reused. ORs' lace square, x1, red stripe. Headress, blue Highland bonnet, diced lower band, blocked into shape of lt. inf. shako, bugle badge, red or green toorie (pompon) on top, green plume often shown at front (George Jones shows no toorie); officers wore ordinary lt. inf. shako. Sashes worn Highland style, over shoulder. SBP: silver, rectangular, rounded corners, engraved with crowned bugle over '71' within spray-wreath of thistles (left) and roses (right); extant example has same design mounted. P.W. Reynolds shows brass plate stated to be perhaps ORs' pattern of this date, apparently resembling earlier officers' pattern: rectangular, '71' within crowned French scroll backed by trophy of arms, fasces below with tablet inscribed 'Regiment' and scroll below inscribed 'Highland'. Extant officers' waist belt clasp east silver, bearing thistle-wreath enclosing bugle with '71' in centre. Officers' regtl. pattern sabre had steel knuckle-bow, oval silver hedges on langets, one with bugle over '71' within oval inscribed 'Highland Light Infantry', other a thistle within 'Nemo Me Impune Lacessit'. Pipers wore ordinary uniform, not Highland dress, on campaign, as shown by Capt. Jones.

CO: Lt. Col. Thomas Reynell (wd.) SUO: Maj. Leslie Walker. *Casualties:* 1 off, 1 sgt, 23 OR kd; 14 off, 7 sgt, 3 dmr, 150 OR wd; 3 ORs msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 1 kd, 15 wd, 1 mortally). One off. on staff duty: kd.

2nd Bn., 73rd (Highland) Regt.

Uniform: F very dark green; off's' lace gold, buttons x1, no loops but facings edged with broad gold lace in imitation of Foot Guards (who objected in 1814 to similarity); apparently a looped jacket existed for full dress, shown by Goddard & Booth⁽¹⁹⁾; P.W. Reynolds confirmed the existence of an example, no longer extant. ORs' lace bastion, x1, red stripe near edge. Cap plate design unknown ('general' pattern?). SBP: several versions recorded for off's, that in portrait c.1816 of Capt. William Wharton presumably that used at Waterloo: ohlong, cut corners, gilt, mounted silver design of number within thistle-spray, honour 'Mangalore' below. ORs' probably brass, rectangular, rounded corners, '73' within spray of thistles, crown above, 'Mangalore' below. Engraving by Hlopwood (pub. 1816 hut poss. dating from before regt. de-kilted, 1809) shows Lt. Col. W.G. Harris with single loop on collar and sash worn Highland style over shoulder⁽²⁰⁾. 2/73rd Standing Orders 1812 note for off's. grey trousers and half-gaiters with shoes for marching order, grey overalls for field off's. and adjutant; 'private parades', grey pantaloons and half-boots; Sundays, white breeches and 'long hoots' (lt. coy., white pantaloons and half-boots)⁽²¹⁾. Thomas Morris records that officers wore cloaks at Waterloo. Though not uniformed in Highland style after 1809, in 1814 at least they had a piper.

ORDER OF BATTLE, BRITISH INFANTRY, 18 JUNE 1815

Strengths on the morning of 18 June are taken from Statistics compiled by Lt. Col. (later Sir) John Waters, Asst. Adj. Gen., published in *Dispatches of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, ed. J. Gurwood, XII (1838), pp. 486-487. To calculate the approximate strength of battalions at the beginning of the campaign, the losses at Quatre Bras

and on the retreat to Waterloo should be added, though some discrepancies are unavoidable (e.g. men who joined units immediately before the action). Statistics below include 'present sick'; but not those 'on command', or sick and wounded no longer present with their battalion. For further comments on statistics see body text.

Officers Sergeants Drummers Rank & File

1st Division

(Maj. Gen. George Cooke)

1st Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Peregrine Maitland)

2/1st Foot Guards	29	43	21	688
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3/1st Foot Guards	29	40	20	758
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2nd Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir John Byng)

2/2nd Foot Guards	36	58	16	988
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2/3rd Foot Guards	35	57	10	998
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2nd Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton)

3rd Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir Frederick Adam)

1/52nd Foot	59	66	22	1,002
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71st Foot	50	61	21	804
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2/95th Foot	34	38	17	577
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3/95th Foot	10	11	6	178
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3rd Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Alten)

5th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir Colin Halkett)

2/30th Foot	40	33	14	548
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33rd Foot	31	22	12	511
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2/69th Foot	30	29	19	487
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2/73rd Foot	23	32	17	426
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4th Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Colville)

4th Brigade

(Lt. Col. H.H. Mitchell, 51st)

3/14th Foot	38	34	11	557
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1/23rd Foot	44	35	23	639
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51st Foot	45	39	16	526
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5th Division

(Lt. Gen. Sir Thomas Picton)

8th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir James Kempt)

28th Foot	35	37	27	458
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32nd Foot	26	36	14	427
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79th Foot	26	30	10	379
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1/95th Foot	17	27	10	364
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9th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir Denis Pack)

3/1st Foot	36	34	17	366
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42nd Foot	17	25	15	281
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2/44th Foot	30	41	15	408
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92nd Foot	22	27	12	361
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6th Division

(Lt. Gen. Hon. Sir Lowry Cole, absent; Lambert commanded his own bde., the other being assigned to Picton)

10th Brigade

(Maj. Gen. Sir John Lamhert)

1/4th Foot	27	36	12	602
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1/27th Foot	21	34	8	687
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1/40th Foot	43	55	17	747
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Units not in combat at Waterloo, but awarded the Medal:

4th Div., 6th Bde. (Maj. Gen. George Johnstone) 2/35th, 54th, 2/59th, 91st Foot

Units forming part of the Army but not at Waterloo:

7th Div., 7th Bde.: 2/25th, 2/37th, 2/78th Foot (From 10th Bde., retained at Brussels: 2/81st Garrison troops 13th Veteran Bn., 1st Foreign Veteran Bn., 2nd Garrison Bn.

CO: Lt. Col. William Harris (wd).
SUO: Lt. Richard Leyne; but Maj. Dawson Kelly, serving as Asst. QMG, took command at Waterloo

when a sgt. informed him that 'all' the offs. were casualties. Casualties: QB: 1 dmr, 3 OR kd; 4 off, 1 sgt, 43 OR wd. Retreat to W 1 off, 3 OR kd.

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

Plate I

Top, left to right:

Officer, Light Company, 1st Foot Guards

Officer, Centre Company, 32nd Foot

Officer, 52nd Light Infantry (officers of regimental light coys. would be similarly dressed).

Officer, Grenadier Company, 4th Foot

Officer, 95th Rifles

The schema — key:

(1) Officer's lace (2) Facing colour

(3) Officer's button spacing (4)

Other Ranks' button spacing, lace

style (5) Epulette, wing or

shoulder strap (6) Other Ranks' lace

(7) Cap plate (8) Shoulder

belt plate

Details, left to right,

top to bottom:

1st Foot Guards: Centre

Coy. officer's epulette; OR's

cap & SB plates.

2nd Foot Guards: Grenadier

Coy. officer's wing; officer's

cap & SB plates.

3rd Foot Guards: Centre

Coy. officer's epulette; officer's

cap & SB plates.

1st Foot: OR's Flank Coy. wing;

officer's cap & SB plates.

4th Foot: Grenadier Coy. officer's

wing; officer's cap & OR's SB plates.

14th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epulette; OR's cap & officer's SB plates.

23rd Foot: Officer's wing; OR's

cap, officer's SB plates.

27th Foot: Light Coy. officer's

wing; OR's cap plate; officer's

SB plate (type 3 — see text listing).

28th Foot: Grenadier Coy.

officer's wing; OR's shako

ornaments; officer's SB plate.

30th Foot: Grenadier Coy.

officer's wing; officer's cap & SB plates.

32nd Foot: Light Coy. officer's

wing; OR's cap & officer's SB plate.

Plate II

Top, left to right:

Sergeant, Centre Coy., 2nd Foot

Guards

Sergeant-Major, 33rd Foot

Sergeant, Centre Coy., 27th Foot

Sergeant, Centre Coy., 28th Foot

Sergeant, Grenadier Coy., 14th

Foot (armed and equipped the

same as Centre Coy. sergeants).

Inset: Colour Sergeant's badge

Details, left to right,

top to bottom:

33rd Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epulette; officer's cap & SB

plates.

40th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epulette; officer's cap & SB

plates.

42nd Highlanders: Centre

Coy. officer's epulette; Light

Coy. OR's cockade; OR's SB

plate.

44th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epulette; OR's cap & officer's

SB plates.

51st Light Infantry: Officer's

wing; officer's cap & SB plates.

52nd Lt. Officer's wing; officer's

cap & SB plates.

69th Foot: Grenadier Coy.

officer's wing; cap plate

unknown; officer's SB plate.

71st Highland Lt. Officer's

wing; OR's cap & officer's SB

plates.

73rd Foot: Centre Coy. officer's

epulette; cap plate unknown;

OR's SB plate.

79th Highlanders: Grenadier

Coy. officer's wing; officer's

cockade, OR's SB plate.

92nd Highlanders: Centre

Coy. officer's epulette; OR's

cockade & SB plate.

95th Rifles: Sergeant's cap plate,

chevrons, cuff and shoulder strap.

W: 5 off, 3 sgt, 1 dmr, 43 OR kd; 12 off, 13 sgt, 2 dmr, 160 OR wd; 41 OR msg. (Two offs. returned as 'wounded' died.)

79th Regt. (Cameron

Highlanders)

Uniform: F dark green; offs' lace gold, buttons x2; ORs' square, x2, 1 yellow between 2 red stripes. Highland dress: kilts Cameron of Erracht sett (basically Macdonald minus 3 red lines, plus yellow overstripe); black gaiters. Offs. wore grey overalls, some sources noting red stripes; Lt. John Ford records use of blue or tartan trousers in Peninsula⁽²²⁾. Peaked feather bonnet with diced band and falling 'tails' at left (N.B. not worn by 42nd), offs' cockades with silver sphinx (bn. coys.), grenade or hughie (flanks coys.). Ford notes offs' lapels buttoned back to show green lining only e.g. when dining out; and that while bn. coy. ORs had small woolen tufts on shoulder straps, flank coy. wings were ornamented with fringe. SIBP: oval, gilt, silver mounted design of '79' on green ground within crowned strap inscribed 'Cameron Highlanders'; Ford states with silver rim. ORs'

plate probably the same, brass, incised design, though Ford records examples of original plate inscribed 'Cameronian Volunteers' (title pre-1804) as late as end of Peninsular War. Another recorded variety bears crowned thistle with 'Gill' and 'R' at sides. 'LXXIX' below. Bn. offs. carried broadswords with gilt hilts, flank coy. offs. sabres; none wore waist belts except medical officers. CO: Lt. Col. Neil Douglas (wd). SUO: Capt. Peter Innes. Casualties: QB: 1 off, 28 OR kd; 16 off, 10 sgt, 248 OR wd; 1 off msg. W: 2 off, 2 sgt, 27 OR kd; 11 off, 7 sgt, 4 dmr, 121 OR wd; 1 OR msg. (Dalton off. casualties: 4 kd, 26 wd inc. 4 mortally.)

92nd Regt. (Gordon Highlanders)

Uniform: F yellow; offs' lace silver, interwoven black line; buttons x2, one loop on collar. ORs' lace square, x2, blue stripe near edge. Highland dress: kilt Gordon tartan ('Govt' sett plus yellow overstripe), black gaiters. Feather bonnet with 'tails', peaks expressly forbidden by regtl. orders but shown in contemporary illus.; lt. coy. red cockades, others black, bearing white metal sphinx;

continued on page 18



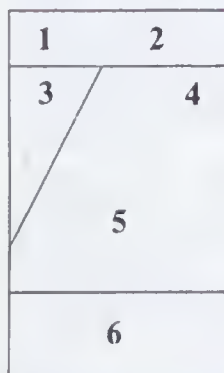
1st Foot Guards

32nd Foot

52nd Lt. Inf.

4th Foot

95th Rifles



Key

1st Foot Guards

2nd Foot Guards

3rd Foot Guards

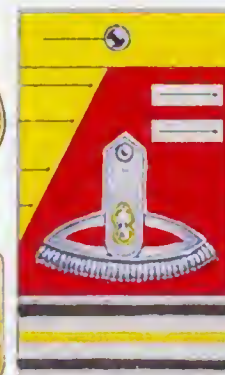


1st Foot

4th Foot

14th Foot

23rd Foot



27th Foot

28th Foot

30th Foot

32nd Foot



2nd Foot Guards

33rd Foot

27th Foot

28th Foot

14th Foot



33rd Foot



40th Foot



42nd H'drs.



44th Foot



51st Lt. Inf.



52nd Lt. Inf.



69th Foot



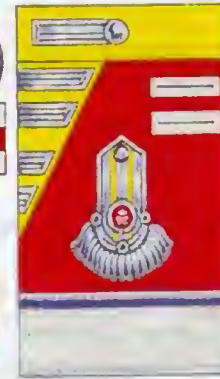
71st HLI



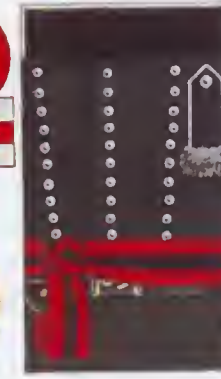
73rd Foot



79th H'drs.



92nd H'drs.



95th Rifles

continued from page 15

red-over-white plume shown for dmr; offs. recorded with grey overalls, but when inspected before campaign wore unlaced blue web pantaloons, half-boots, jackets worn closed across, and field offs. wore 'Highland scarf', i.e. 'fly' plaid⁽²⁴⁾. SBP: oval, silver, engraved with crowned thistle with 'Gordon' above and 'Highlanders' below; ORs' same, brass, design incised, and possibly earlier pattern retained, as above but with '92' below thistle. Fischer shows sgt. with plain crimson sash, but probably in error: portrait of sgt. maj. c.1816 shows offs' pattern jacket with silver lace, but ordinary sgt's sash, crimson with facing-coloured stripe; sporran shown here, but as in other Highland regts. these were not worn on campaign.⁽²⁵⁾

CO: Lt. Col. John Cameron of Fassiefern (kd). SUO: Maj. Donald Macdonald. *Casualties*: QB: 4 off, 2 sgt, 33 OR kd; 21 off, 13 sgt, 1 dmr, 212 OR wd. W: 1 sgt, 13 OR kd; 6 off, 3 sgt, 93 OR wd. (Dalton casualties: 6 off kd., 21 wd.) Further example of misleading official figures: *Gazette* lists Cameron of Fassiefern as wounded (since dead) and Lt. William Lister (1/95th) as belonging to 92nd; does not return Capt. Wilkie and Ferrier, Lt. Hope, as wounded, though Dalton does; Dalton omits to list Ensigns McDonald and Hewitt as wounded, while the *Gazette* does.)

1st Bn., 95th Rifles

Uniform: dark green 'rifle' uniform with black F, white piping for ORs, silver huttons, black braid for offs; no lace. Dark green or grey overalls, black leather equipment; armed with Baker rifles. Lt. inf. shako with dark green cords and plume, white metal horn badge.

CO: Lt. Col. Sir Andrew F. Barnard (wd). SUO: Capt. Henry Lee, but command at Waterloo devolved upon his senior, Capt. Jonathan Leach, recorded as wounded by Dalton though not listed in the *Gazette*. *Casualties*: QB: 1 off, 2 sgt, 18 OR kd; 12 off, 13 sgt, 167 OR wd. W: 1 off, 4 sgt, 16 OR kd; 11 off, 7 sgt, 1 bugler, 116 OR wd. (Dalton off. casualties: 3 kd, 15 wd.) Three offs. on staff duty: one kd, one wd.)

2nd Bn., 95th Rifles

Uniform: as 1st Bn.

CO: Maj. Amos Norcott (wd). SUO: Capt. Joseph Logan. *Casualties*: 2 sgt, 1 bugler, 31 OR kd; 14 off, 6 sgt, 2 buglers, 171 OR wd.

3rd Bn., 95th Rifles (2 coys.)

Uniform: as 1st Bn. *Strength*: 188. Offs: 9. CO: Maj. John Ross (wd). SUO: Capt. William Eccles. *Casualties*: 3 OR kd; 4 off, 1 sgt, 1 bugler, 34 OR wd; 7 OR msg. Two offs. on staff duty: one kd.

Units not engaged at Waterloo but receiving the Waterloo Medal (stationed in vicinity of Hal):

2nd Bn., 35th (Sussex) Regt.

Uniform: F orange; offs' lace silver (perhaps with unusual lapel design, with extra lace); ORs' square, x2, design recorded as (1) yellow stripe (2) 1 red and 1 yellow stripe —

Hamilton Smith; (3) 1 red, 1 black, 1 yellow stripe. Cap plate with cypher over '35'. SBP: oval, gilt, design mounted in silver, crowned circle inscribed 'Sussex' surrounding '35'. Lt. Thomas Austin recorded most of regt. wore moustaches in 1814. CO: Maj. Charles Macalister. Two officers on staff duty, inc. most senior, Lt. Col. George Berkeley; both wd.

1st Bn., 54th (West Norfolk) Regt.

Uniform: F popinjay green; offs' lace silver (3/8in. tissue vellum) confirmed by Col. John Norman: very narrow silver lace on the button-holes⁽²⁶⁾; ORs' square, x2, green stripe. Cap plate bore cypher over sphinx upon 'Egypt' over '54'. Portrait of Lt. Dixon Denham (commissioned Sept. 1813) shows cylindrical lt. inf. undress (?) cap with black cords, green plume and '54' on front. SBP: rectangular, rounded corners, silver, gilt mounted devices, crown over sphinx and '54' within laurel wreath, over scroll inscribed 'Egypt'; example recorded hallmarked 1815 — presumably this replaced oval version shown by Parkyn (crown over 'LIV'). Offs' overalls for dress had one-inch silver stripe.

CO: Lt. Col. John, Earl Waldegrave. Two offs. on staff duty: one kd.

2nd Bn., 59th (2nd Nottinghamshire) Regt.

Uniform: F white; offs' lace gold (but 'unlaced' regt.), buttons x1; ORs' hessian, x1, red and yellow stripes (one version Hamilton Smith, 2 blue or black stripes). Regtl. pattern cap plate not known. SBP: probably oblong, gilt, bearing '59' within wreath; oval earlier pattern (example known hallmarked 1808-09) had '59' within crowned wreath, known both in silver, and silver with mounted gilt design. ORs' plate (perhaps of this date) rectangular, brass, with incised crown over '59', over '2d' over 'Nottingham'.

CO: Lt. Col. Henry Austen.

1st Bn., 91st Regt.

Uniform: F yellow; offs' lace silver — should have changed to gold 1803-04 but Hamilton Smith and 1814 *Army List* still show silver (but an 'unlaced' regt.); ORs' lace square, x2, black stripe and black dart (versions Hamilton Smith show 2 yellow stripes, or 2 broken black lines). Regtl. pattern cap plate not known. Portrait of J.M. Sutherland wearing lt. coy. 'stovepipe' cap shows gilt thistle badge, but presumably pre-1812 — subject promoted major Sept. 1812 — and this cap may not have survived transition to Belgian shako. SBP: probably oblong, gilt, silver mounted devices: crown over 'XCI' over scroll inscribed 'Argyllshire'; grenade between crown and number for grens, bugle for lt. coy. Title 'Argyllshire' officially dropped 1809; but plate of Col. Douglas — died 1818 — still bears it, plus honour 'Toulouse' granted July 1816, confirming continuing use of title. Thomas Morris noted in 1814 regt. composed of such young soldiers that they carried fusils instead of full-size muskets.

CO: Lt. Col. Sir William Douglas.

Footnotes:

- (1) Thomas Creevey: *The Creevey Papers*, ed. Sir W. Maxwell, (London, 1903) p.228.
- (2) See 'Tale of Two Guardsmen' P.J. Haythornthwaite, *Military Illustrated Past & Present* No. 14, pp.28-30
- (3) *ibid*.
- (4) Jacket of Capt. & Lt. Col. William Miller (killed at Waterloo) illustrated in *Military Fashion*, J. Mollo (London, 1972). p.126; dress coat in *Soldiers of the Napoleonic Wars: British Foot Guards at Waterloo*, B. Fosten, (New Malden, n.d.) pp.32,34; plate of officers' insignia, including gorgets, illustrated in *Distinction of Rank of Regimental Officers*, N.P. Dawnay (SAHR, 1960) p.68.
- (5) *British Military Firearms*, H.L. Blackmore (London, 1961) p.120.
- (6) Pearce.
- (7) see *The West Yorkshire Regt.*, A.J. Barker (London, 1974) p.5
- (8) For example, see *Regimental Records of the Bedfordshire Militia*, Sir J.M. Burgoyne Bt., (London, 1884).
- (9) Officer's jacket illustrated in *Wellington's Infantry (I)*, B. Fosten (London, 1981) pp.16-17.
- (10) Illustrated in *JSAHR XXII* (1943) p.155, together with jacket of Capt. Edward Pope, which includes the singular bn. coy. turnback-badges of castle and shamrocks.
- (11) *Narrative of the Campaigns of the 28th Regiment*, C. Cadell (London, 1835) p.280.
- (12) See *Military Insignia of Cornwall*, D.E. Ivall & C. Thomas, (Penzance, 1974) p.12.
- (13) *Not Stewart of Atholl*, which tartan is red with green lines.
- (14) Field officer's jacket, showing regtl. design of epaulettes and Thistle Star turnback-badges, illustrated in *Wellington's Infantry (II)*, B. Fosten (London, 1982) p.9.
- (15) *JSAHR XXIX* (1951) pp.115-16 — also shows star-shaped turnback-badges.
- (16) See *Wellington's Infantry (II)*, op.cit. p.4.
- (17) Officer's jacket, showing design of wing and turnback-badges, illustrated in *British Infantry of the Napoleonic Wars*, P.J. Haythornthwaite (London, 1987) p.85. Ensign William Leeke records that at Waterloo Sir John Colborne wore the shoulder-cape of Leeke's boat-cloak.
- (18) See *Wellington's Infantry (I)* op.cit., p.3.
- (19) *The Military Costume of Europe*, T. Goddard & J. Booth, (London, 1812-22)
- (20) Reproduced, with portraits of Wharton and Lt. John McConnell, in *The 2/73rd at Waterloo*, A. Lagden & J. Sly (Brightlingsea, 1988)
- (21) For full text see *JSAHR XX* (1941) p.122.
- (22) Ford's account in *JSAHR XXVII* (1949), pp.132-33.
- (23) Officer's jacket (Capt. T. Brown), in *Wellington's Infantry (II)*, op.cit., p.4.
- (24) See *The Life of a Regiment*, Lt. Col. C. Greenhill Gardyne, (London, 1929, 2nd edn.) I p.348.
- (25) Officers' jackets illustrated in *JSAHR* (1946) p.11 (Lt. Claude Alexander), and *Wellington's Infantry (I)*, op.cit., p.15.

Captions to colour plate opposite:

Plate III

Top, left to right:

Sergeant, Light Coy., 35th Foot
Sergeant, Light Coy., 44th Foot
Private, Centre Coy., 30th Foot
Private, Light Coy., 40th Foot
Inset: Light Coy. (top) and Grenadier Coy. wings Private, 95th Rifles

Details, left to right, top to bottom:

35th Foot: Light Coy. officer's wing; OR's cap & officer's SB plates.
54th Foot: Light Coy. OR's wing; officer's cap & SB plates.
59th Foot: Grenadier Coy. officer's wing; cap plate unknown; officer's SB plate.
91st Foot: Grenadier Coy. OR's wing; cap plate unknown; Grenadier Coy. officer's SB plate.
25th Foot: Centre Coy. OR's shoulder strap; OR's cap plate; officer's SB plate.
37th Foot: Centre Coy. officer's epaulette; officer's cap & OR's SB plates.
78th Highlanders: Light Coy. officer's wing (extant example not certainly dated 1806-15); officer's cockade & badge; officer's SB plate.
81st Foot: Light Coy. officer's wing; officer's cap & SB plates.

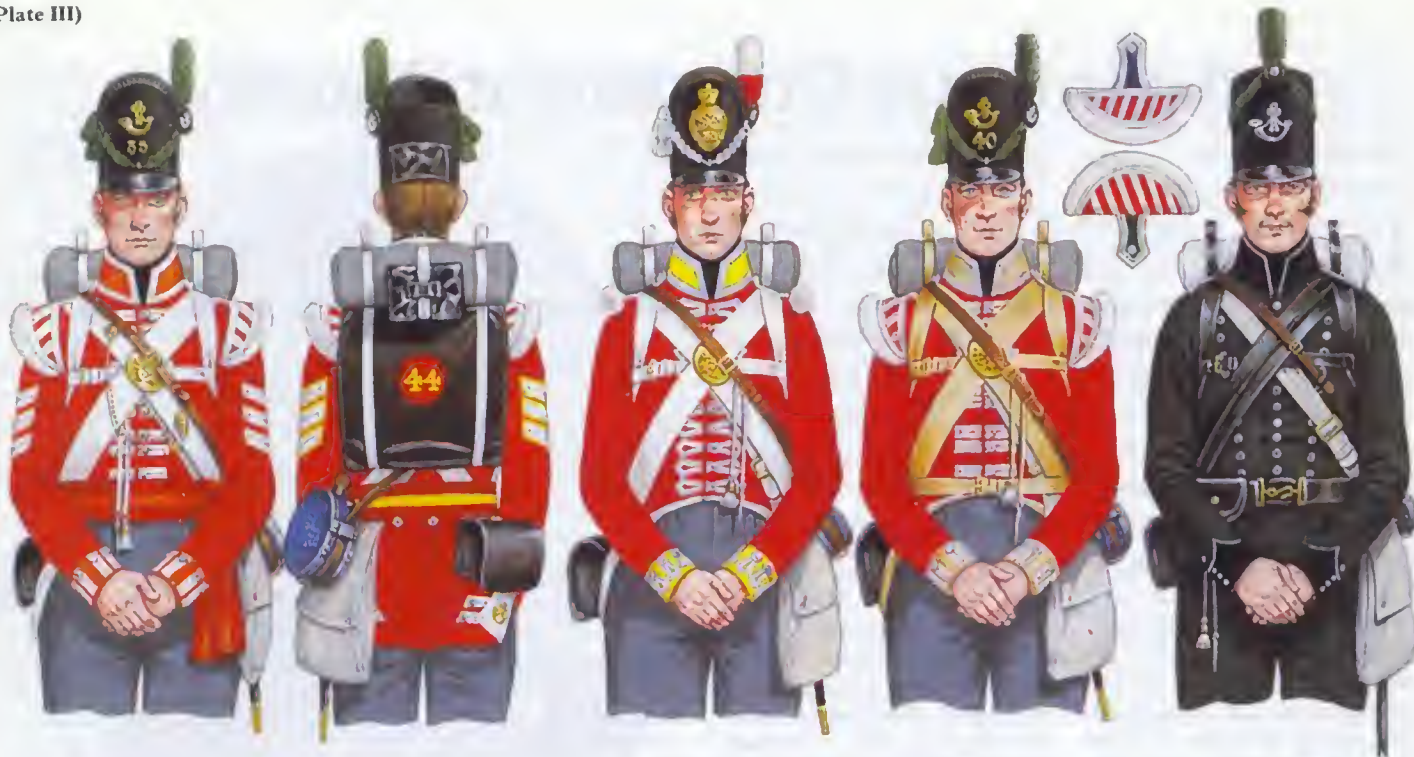
Foot of plate:

1802 Pattern New Land Service musket
1796 Pattern infantry officer's sword
1803 Pattern Flank Coy. officer's sabre
Pike head, sergeants, Centre & Grenadier Coys.
Universal pattern officer's gorget

(26) *Record of the 54th Regt.* (anon.: printed at Thomason Civil Engineering College Press; Roorkee, 1881) p.45.

Sources

Limitations of space prevent a more complete account of the known regimental patterns (e.g. wings, epaulettes, turnback designs, etc.). In addition to the sources mentioned in the text and footnotes, information on the design of ORs' lace may be found in the 1802 Clothing Regulations (see *Infantry Clothing Regulations 1802*, W.Y. Carman (*JSAHR XIX*, 1940, pp.200-35); Philip De Bosset's *A View of the British Army on the Peace Establishment in the Year 1803* (*JSAHR XI*, 1932, pp.173-75); and Charles Hamilton Smith's *Costume of the Army of the British Empire*, (London, 1812-14), the plates of facings etc. published 1812-13. As these plates were issued hand-coloured, in some cases conflicting colour-schemes exist, some conceivably colourists' errors. A number of Waterloo regiments are covered in detail in *The Thin Red Line: Uniforms of the British Army between 1751 & 1914*, D.S.V. & B.K. Fosten, (London, 1989).



35th Foot

44th Foot

30th Foot

40th Foot

95th Rifles



35th Foot



54th Foot



59th Foot



91st Foot



25th Foot



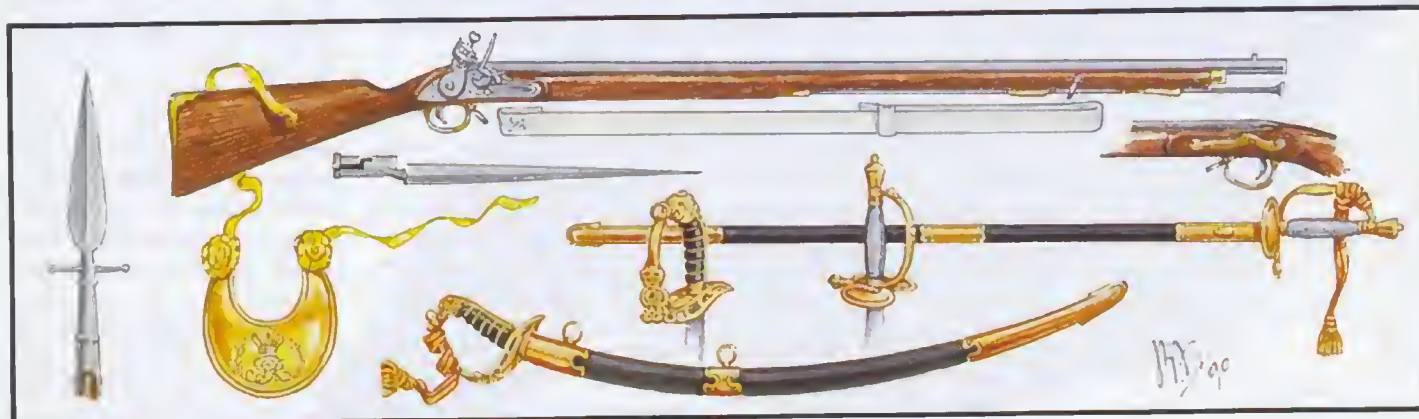
37th Foot



78th H'drs.



81st Foot



An Infantry Company at Waterloo

JOHN SLY

In the main, military historians are not concerned with the fate of individual soldiers. No unit smaller than a battalion is really practical for discussion in a review of, say, the fighting on the Somme in 1916, or at the Alma in 1854. Generally the only occasions when one finds individuals mentioned in military historical accounts are when they are quoted as eye-witnesses. Yet it is this personal aspect of military historical research which most fascinates the non-specialist.

It may be that someone is tracing a relative who fought in a particular action. It may be that a local historian is writing a history of the men from his town who served in a particular campaign. It may be that a collector has acquired some personalised relic, a letter or a named medal, that is unique to one long-dead soldier. To all these, the voice that echoes most hauntingly is that of the individual, picked out of the great crowd of ghosts by some random shaft of knowledge.

My own interest is mainly social. Who were these men who served their country during a perhaps tragically short military career? What kind of background did they come from? What happened to them after they took their

discharge? This article is therefore an attempt to look at a microcosm of an army — a company of infantry — and to analyse, as far as existing records allow, the biographical details of the men who served in it.

They were, of course, theoretically volunteers, and although many tricks were known to recruiting sergeants there was no 'press gang' for the Army: conscription was unknown in this country before 1916. The troops who fought under Wellington in the Peninsula and at Waterloo did not, by any stretch of the imagination, constitute a 'citizen army' like that of the French Revolution, or even like the armies of the American Civil War. The men had no overwhelming cause for which to fight; but the army offered, against the hardships of campaigning and the risk of a horrible death, a regular income (when it was paid); a supply of food (however bad) and usually some form of shelter; companionship; the chance of fame, debauchery and loot; and, of course, an abundance of liquor, the anaesthetic of the soldier for most of the 19th century. At its best, life in the army could instil above all a sense of pride and achievement in the regiment, focussing on the colonel and the colours — remember that the men stood literally shoulder to shoulder to fight in square and line, and each man had to rely on his comrades not to desert him under fire.



**TOM MORRIS OF
THE 73rd**

The company chosen for this analysis is that of the memoirist Thomas Morris: No.6 (Grenadier) Company of the 2/73rd Foot. Morris must be one of the most famous of the soldiers who left accounts of Waterloo, largely because he was a ranker, and literacy among private soldiers was a rarity at any time up to the end of the 19th century.

It might be worth clearing up one small anomaly at this point. Every authority who quotes his reminiscences refers to him as 'Sergeant' Morris, almost certainly because he included himself in the book *The Three Sergeants* (1858) which recorded the exploits of Thomas, his brother William, and his nephew William Morris junior. However, Thomas Morris was not only not a sergeant at Waterloo, but he never achieved a higher rank than corporal (17 October 1815); and was discharged as such on 20 November 1818.

Before going into the details of the events of the Waterloo campaign, it might

be sensible to look at the history of the 2nd Battalion, 73rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot. It was placed on the Army establishment on 24 December 1808, and built up its strength gradually over the next two or three years. Many, if not most members of the battalion were volunteers from the Militia, a not uncommon feature of the Peninsular period after the passing of the Militia Act of 1807. Although the 73rd Foot had been nominally a Highland regiment, the colonel, Lord George Harris, had obtained permission to abandon Highland dress during 1809 so as to encourage non-Scottish recruits. In fact, the Waterloo men of the 2/73rd included relatively few Scots, the majority of the battalion being Englishmen.

By the time the battalion saw its first action, at Ghorde in Hanover on 16 September 1813, it was up to full ten-company strength. The battalion then served in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Graham in the winter of 1813-14, particularly distinguishing itself on 2 February 1814 in the capture of

Col. the Honourable William George Harris, 1782-1845 (2nd Lord Harris of Springatnam and Mysore, 1829) commanded the 2/73rd from December 1808. He fought in India, 1799, and was one of the first men through the breach at Seringapatam. He served as a captain in the 49th Foot at Copenhagen aboard the frigate Glatton; at the Cape of Good Hope as a major in the 73rd in 1806; as commanding officer at Ghorde in 1813, at Merxem, at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. It is said that on one occasion on 18 June the 2/73rd hesitated to close up a gap torn in its ranks by enemy artillery fire, and the colonel urged his horse lengthways into the space, saying with a smile 'Well my lads, if you won't, I must'. He was immediately led back to his proper place inside the square, and his men closed up the ranks.

Engraving by Hopwood, 1816; courtesy Alan Lazen.

Merxem, near Antwerp, where it sustained about 50 casualties of all ranks.

In dealing with the events of 16–18 June 1815, except in so far as the tactical details affected the fate of the individual soldiers, I do not intend to delve into the course of events that led up to the battle, or into the chronology of the battle itself, these having already been dealt with exhaustively in hundreds of books and articles.

QUATRE BRAS

On Thursday 15 June the 3rd Division of Wellington's army, commanded by Lt. Gen. Sir Charles Baron Alten, was based around Soignes. The 2/73rd, which formed part of the 5th Infantry Brigade under Sir Colin Halkett (the other units being the 2/30th, 33rd, and 2/69th), was billeted in what Morris called a 'sweet village' three miles away. After Wellington heard of Napoleon's advance, and gave orders for the army to concentrate, the 3rd Division set off at about 2 a.m. on the morning of 16 June; and reached Les Quatre Bras after a hard march of some 27 miles just after 5 p.m. At this vital crossroads the Prince of Orange had come into contact with the French earlier in the day, and had managed to take up a position in the woods of Bossu, Gemioncourt and Piermont, the only cover in the area. Here he was attacked by Marshal Ney in overwhelming force, and by the time the 3rd Division arrived the plight of the Allied army was desperate.

The 2/73rd found itself in a difficult position. According to Morris the battalion came on to the battlefield through a 'large wood' (the Bois de Bossu), and because of the height of the growing crop failed to see Gittaut's Brigade of Kellerman's cuirassiers, which had been unleashed — almost as Ney's last attempt to take the position — at the

5th Brigade. The 73rd scrambled back into the wood; but the 69th, caught in the open in extended order, were horribly cut-up and lost a colour.

The 73rd then took part in the advance of the brigade with the Brunswick troops. Morris described this movement, and how his company was ordered out skirmishing. His account makes it clear that he had no high opinion of his captain, Alexander Robertson, describing him as an officer 'who had been upwards of thirty years in the service, but was never before in action. He knew nothing of field movements . . . He now led us forward . . . Presently we saw a regiment of cuirassiers making towards us, and he was then at his wits' end . . .'. Morris went on to describe the timely intervention of Ensign Patrick Hay in bringing the company safely in.

The puzzling aspect of this account is that Alexander Robertson's military career simply does not fit Morris's description: it had, in fact,

been full of incident. He had served with the Fencibles in Ireland in the 1790s, and had been a Militia officer for five years before being commissioned ensign into the 36th Foot in 1804. He was promoted lieutenant into the 28th Foot in November 1805; and saw plenty of active service at Copenhagen, on the Walcheren expedition and in the Peninsula, commanding a company at Busaco, and obtaining his captaincy in the 73rd on 21 November 1811. Morris also makes the charge that 'our poor old Captain was horribly frightened, and several times came to me for a drop of something to keep his spirits up'. There is no doubt that Robertson was, at least, a seasoned campaigner, and it is almost impossible to reconcile the man that Morris knew with the character that emerges from the record books.

Two incidents that Morris recorded at Quatre Bras serve not only as interesting biographical references, but also

to illustrate how the power of weaponry has changed over the years. Lt. John Acres was a much respected even loved officer of Morris's company. Described by Morris as 'a man of gigantic stature, as brave as a lion, and almost as strong as one', he bore the nickname of 'Bob' Acres (after the country squire in Sheridan's play *The Rivals*). Commissioned ensign in the 73rd from the King's County Militia on 22 November 1809, and lieutenant on 20 November 1811, he distinguished himself by outstanding bravery and leadership in the attack on Merxem in 1814. At Quatre Bras he was fatally wounded by a pistol ball entering the back of his neck and penetrating so far as to lodge in his mouth. What is remarkable about this incident is that he was able to remove the ball and say a few words to his colonel before dying some hours later. A modern .38 pistol would probably have removed the lower part of his face.



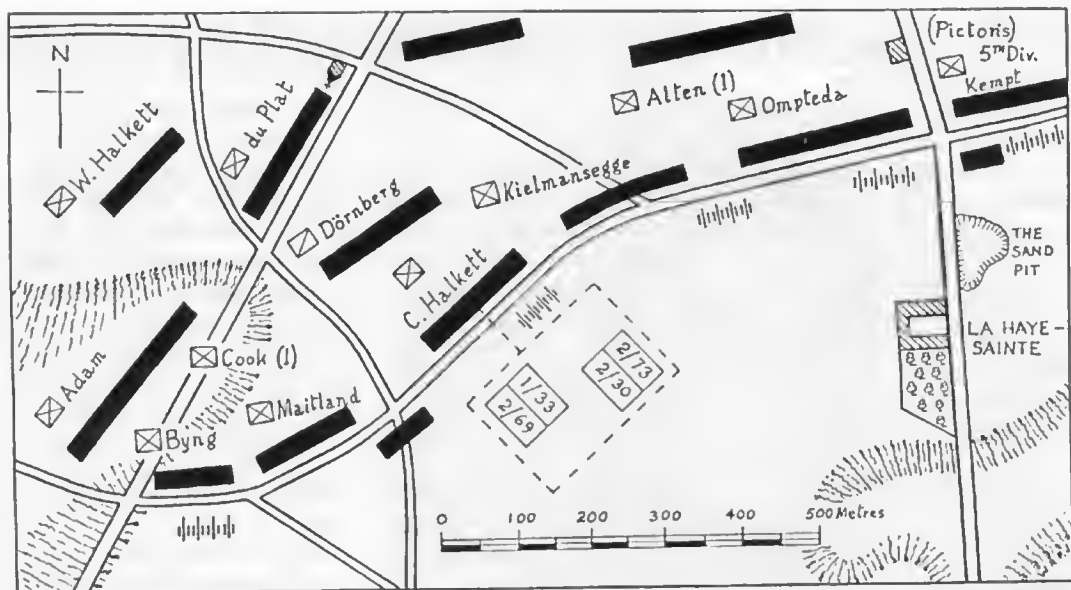
Coat of a battalion company officer, 73rd Foot, c.1812-15, showing distinctive regimental gold lace trim. (Courtesy Scottish United Services Museum)

Morris also related another convincing vignette of close action — he could capture brilliantly the passing moment: 'Ensign Deacon . . . was on my right, close to me, when we were charging the enemy, and a private on my left being killed by a musket-ball through the temple, the officer said, "Who is that, Morris?" I replied, "Sam Shortly"; and pointing to the officer's arm, where a musket ball had passed through, taking with it a portion of shirt sleeve, I said, "You are wounded, Sir". "God bless me! so I am", said he, and dropping his sword, made the best of his way to the rear.'

The retreat from Quatre Bras on 17 June was a sorry affair, harried by the French and made worse by the miserable weather, which produced an electrical storm of great severity in the middle of the sultry afternoon; both Morris and Macready mentioned its depressing effects. (Edward Neville Macready, a 16-year-old brother of a famous actor when he joined the Army as a volunteer in 1814, fought with the 30th Foot, and was one of the most famous diarists of the entire Waterloo campaign.) Eventually, in the dismal light of that June evening, the two armies took up their respective positions in full view of each other. By the morning of 18 June the rain has eased off, but both forces made their preparations to fight suffering from lack of sleep, sodden clothing, and the sheer discomfort of campaigning.

WATERLOO

In purely physical terms it would have been an awesome prospect for those men at dawn on that day: fear, exhaustion, lack of food, and possible despair or resignation would all take their toll on men's bodies, and for something like 12 hours the soldiers would have to remain in close formation, with no chance of relieving themselves except where they stood. Very few accounts of 18th and 19th



century warfare mention this aspect, but it would have an influence on the morale both of individuals and of formed units. By the end of the day the stench all over the battlefield would have been frightful: smoke from burning buildings, gunpowder from the artillery and muskets, the sweat, blood, vomit and excrement of thousands of men and horses, would have combined on a still, heavy day into an olfactory cocktail too rich for most modern noses. To have to continue to

fight in those circumstances for so many hours must have been one of the incidental horrors of Napoleonic combat, and it was hardly surprising that men turned to drink to deaden their senses.

Morris's account of the battle was necessarily restricted, as is that of every eyewitness; however, he did manage to convey how it felt to be part of a battle in the Napoleonic period, although he was, to modern ears, strangely unemotional about his own part in the affair. At

the beginning of the day he came across his brother, who was on his way out with other men of the Light Company to co-operate with the 95th Rifles in skirmishing with the enemy:

'As my brother was going on this duty, we shook hands, not supposing it likely that we should both be preserved through such a battle as this promised to be. From this time we had no opportunity of seeing each other until the close of the action.' Either Morris has omitted the



sentiments exchanged by the two young men, or it must have been a remarkably phlegmatic parting.

The lie of the field

Morris said very little about the ground on which the Allied army stood, except that it was a strong defensive position; but it is necessary to know the rough lie of the land and the disposition of the troops to understand the position of the 2/73rd. The Allied line was drawn up on rising ground on the north side of a shallow valley to the south of Mont St. Jean; the French were drawn up on the opposite side of the valley. The Allied right rested on the Brussels-Nivelles road, to the north and west of Hougomont, and the position stretched about a mile and half along a low rise running east to west towards Wavre, some ten miles away. Alten's 3rd Division had its left on the Brussels-Charleroi road which virtually bisected the positions of both armies. Ompteda's Brigade (four battalions of the King's German Legion) were drawn up with their left on the road, opposite Picton's 5th Division; to the right of Ompteda

was Kielmansegge's Hanoverian Brigade; to the right of the Hanoverians stood Colin Halkett's Brigade, with the composite 30th/73rd square slightly in front and to the left of the composite 33rd/69th square. Michael Glover (in *The Armies At Waterloo*, Sphere, 1973) wrote that this was a point, 'the place where the Brussels road crosses the ridge at its lowest, smoothest part', that could be specially threatened, and Wellington placed here 'the best of his infantry under his best divisional generals'. The 2/73rd was therefore, literally in the forefront of the battle, and it was unlikely that casualties would be anything but heavy.

This makes Morris's detachment even more remarkable. It is possible, of course, that he either genuinely believed that he was not going to be hit, or that he had had enough to drink to make him feel that way: 'Having distributed the usual allowance of spirits to the company, I had three canteens full left . . . I took an extra drop with my old friend Sergeant Burton; and he ordered me to keep some to drink together after the battle. I told him, I

The 2/73rd in square

It is practically impossible to calculate where in the combined 'square' (actually a shallow rectangle, long faces at front and rear) of the 2/73rd and 2/30th Tom Morris's company stood. The normal formation of square from line put the Grenadier Company of a conventionally numbered battalion in the rear face. In this case there are three obstacles to certainty. Firstly, in the 2/73rd the Grenadiers were No.6 Company. We may assume that tradition would keep Grenadiers in the post of honour on the right of the line, and thus in the rear when in square, but we cannot be sure.

Secondly, we know that Shaw Kennedy, AQMG of the 3rd Division, arrayed the division at Waterloo *vice* Gen. Alten. We know that the 2/73rd and 2/30th formed what Shaw Kennedy called an 'oblong' formation on a two-company front — two solid columns of companies, the 2/73rd on the left; and that 'the left hand battalion [formed] right in front'. We know that later the two

battalions formed a combined 'square'. If the 2/73rd Grenadiers were at their 'right', this would presumably put them somewhere in the middle of the forward face of the combined 'square' — but we cannot be sure. The internal evidence of Morris's account certainly suggests that he spent at least part of the battle in the forward face.

Thirdly, however, it is logical to assume that there must have been some shifting of position by companies within the 'square' during the long ordeal, or the forward face might have been annihilated whilst the other faces remained more or less intact; and this could have left the Grenadiers anywhere in the left hand half of the combined 'square'. About all that we can tell for certain is that they were drawn up in the traditional four ranks, the front two kneeling — note Morris's reference to ' . . . our rear ranks poured into them a well-directed fire . . . the two front ranks, kneeling, then discharged their pieces . . . '

thought very few of us would live to see the close of that day: when he said, "Tom, I'll tell you what it is; there is no shot made yet for either you or me".

Burton had volunteered from the Tower Hamlets Militia on 2 April 1813, and was made sergeant within four days. Morris described him at one point as 'not at all soldierlike in appearance. Being on the wrong side of fifty, and having served some years on board a man-o'-war. He was one of those rough and ready, devil-may-care sort of fellows that an officer would select if he wanted something short and sweet done without any bother.' It is not hard to imagine the 18-year-old Thomas Morris finding an ideal father-figure in this obviously hard-bitten old former sea-dog, and it would be fascinating to discover something more about his background. In the event, Burton was right in his prediction: he and Morris survived the battle, and when the men were mustered towards the end of the day Burton was there: 'My worthy friend, Burton, gave me a hearty slap on the back, and said, "Out with the grog, Tom; did I not tell you there was no shot made for you or me?"'

Given the location of the 2/73rd on the battlefield, the battalion came under attack from all three arms of the French force: infantry, cavalry and artillery. Indeed, as William Siborne wrote (*The Waterloo Campaign*, London, 1844): 'Of all the troops comprising the Anglo-allied army, the most exposed to the fierce onslaught of the French cavalry and the continuous cannonade of their artillery were the British squares posted . . . in advance . . . of the narrow road which ran along the crest of the Duke's position. They consisted of the third battalion of the 1st Guards, and of the 30th and the 73rd, acting together as one Corps.' John Keegan, in his masterly study *The Face Of Battle* (Jonathan Cape, 1976) analysed the fighting from the point of view of how each arm succeeded or failed against its opponents; and together with Morris' anecdotal

Coloured print signed P. Jazet, 1882, showing the 2/73rd and 2/30th Foot in square at Waterloo. While the uniform details are very inaccurate (see accompanying article elsewhere in this issue for actual distinctions) this is a spirited example of an 'atmospheric' impression of a hard-pressed infantry unit during the successive French cavalry attacks. (Black Watch Regimental Museum, courtesy Alan Lagden)



dotes, this analysis presents a powerful verbal image of what the 2/73rd Grenadiers must have experienced.

Artillery fire

The battle opened with the French cannonade, so perhaps it would be sensible to start with the category: artillery versus infantry. Psychologically this was the most difficult form of attack for the infantry to bear, as Keegan pointed out: 'For though the eighty-odd guns in Napoleon's "grand battery" . . . could not do any particular infantry formation the same concentration harm as could a "galloping battery" firing grape or cannister into it from close range, the arrival of their solid cannon-balls was so frequent, the effect of the balls on human flesh so destructive, the apprehension of those temporarily spared so intense that the cannonade came as near as anything suffered by the British at Waterloo to breaking their line.'

Morris told several horrific tales of his battalion's battering. To begin with, Capt. Robertson 'was cut in two by a cannon shot'. Then Morris himself was wounded by a shell splinter: 'About this time . . . a large shell fell just in front of us, and while the fuze was burning out, we were wondering how many of us it would destroy. When it burst, about seventeen men were either killed or wounded by it; the portion which came to my share, was a piece of rough cast-iron, about the size of a horse bean, which took its lodging in my left cheek; the blood ran copiously down inside my clothes, and made me feel rather uncomfortable.' Morris's taste for understatement is always impeccable.

Finally in this category, Morris described the death of Sgt. Maj. William Ballam, in terms of pure gallows comedy: 'Our Sergeant-Major was a brave soldier, and had been through the whole of the engagements in the Peninsula with the 43rd Regiment . . . Noticing one of the men named Dent [William Dent, No. 10 Company]

stooping every now and then, as the shots came whizzing by, he said "Damn you sir, what do you stoop for? You should not stoop if your head was blown off!" He had scarcely uttered these words, when a bullet struck him on the nose killing him on the spot. Dent immediately turned and said, "Damn it, Sir! what do you lie there for? You should not lie down if your head was off".'

Cavalry attack

In contrast to its experience with the artillery, the British infantry formed up defensively at Waterloo fared much better against cavalry. The French generally had to charge up the hill at formed squares, and, as Keegan put it, 'if the story of Waterloo has a *leitmotiv* it is that of cavalry charging square and being repulsed . . . The feat of breaking a square was tried by the French cavalry time and again . . . and always . . . with a complete lack of success.' It required only a few horses to be brought down in the front rank of a cavalry regiment, which would be moving relatively slowly by the time they came within musket range, for the other horses to be upset; they would then either come to a complete halt or veer off to the side.

This is, in fact, what seems to have happened when the 73rd faced the first of many cavalry charges by the Cuirassiers: 'Their appearance was of such a formidable nature, that I thought we could not have the slightest chance with them. They came up rapidly, until within about ten or twelve paces of the square, when our rear ranks poured into them a well-directed fire, which put them into confusion, and they retired; the two front ranks, kneeling, then discharged their pieces at them. Some of the cuirassiers fell wounded, and several were killed; those of them that were dismounted by the death of their horses, immediately unclasped their armour to facilitate their escape.'



Mr William Robinson during his later years in Fleetwood and (above) his gravestone in Fleetwood cemetery. Below is his Waterloo campaign medal.



However, if cavalry acted together with horse artillery (uncommon at Waterloo because of the relatively crowded battlefield) it could be a different story. Morris gives a detailed depiction of an episode of what must have been sheer terror: 'The same body of the enemy . . . seemed determined to force a passage through us, and on their next advance they brought some artillery-men, turned the cannon in our front upon us, and fired into us with grape-shot . . . making complete lanes through us; and then the horsemen came up to dash in at the openings. But before they reached us we had closed our files, throwing the dead outside, and taking the wounded inside the square, and they were again forced to retire. They did not, however, go further than the pieces of cannon — waiting there to try the effect of some more grape-shot. We saw the match applied, and again it came as thick as hail upon us. On looking round, I saw my

left hand man falling backwards, the blood gushing from his left eye . . .

Contrary to what might be expected, this man was not killed, although needless to say he lost his left eye; and in later years, after reading Morris's account, the casualty wrote to him, identifying himself as William Robinson. The two men met in London in 1851; born in February 1795, Robinson survived for a further 65 years after the battle, apparently in generally good health, and died on 10 October 1880 in Fleetwood, Lancashire. He wore his Waterloo medal with great pride, and is said to have been fond of inviting his grandchildren to feel the lump of metal still lodged above his blind eye.

The infantry battle

Keegan devotes more than thirty pages to the infantry-versus-infantry battle. He believes that, although the number of occasions when this form of combat took place was relatively limited at



HIS MAJESTY'S 2^d Regt. of Foot.

whereof *James MacLaine* is Colonel.

THESE are to certify, that

in *William Robinson* Company, in the Regiment aforesaid, born in the Parish of *Carlisle* in or near the Town of *Carlisle* in the County of *Cumberland* was enlisted at the Age of

Three Years; and hath served in the said Regiment for the space of *43* Years and

Days, as well as in other Corps, after the Age of Eighteen, according to the following Statement, but in consequence of *loss of left eye from a gunshot wound received at Waterloo on the 18th June 1815* is rendered unfit for further Service, and is hereby discharged; having first received all just Demands of Pay, Clothing, &c. from his Entry into the said Regiment to the date of this Discharge, as appears by the Receipt on the back hereof.

And to prevent any improper use being made of this Discharge, by its falling into other Hands, the following is a Description of the said *William Robinson*

He is about *Twenty one* Years of Age; is *Six* Feet *Seven* Inches in height, *Brown* Hair, *Grey* Eyes, *Fresh* Complexion, by Trade a *Tailor*

Left:

Pte. William Robinson, Tom Morris's 'left hand man', who was struck in the left eye by grapeshot at Waterloo. He survived to the age of 85, and is pictured in old age with his headstone and Waterloo Medal.

Above:

Discharge and pension documents for William Robinson, recording his service details, his appearance (5 ft. 7 in, brown hair, grey eyes, fresh complexion), and the loss of his left eye at Waterloo, for which he received a pension of 9d. a day. This apprentice tailor from Carlisle was discharged aged 21 in June 1816. (Crown copyright; by permission of the Controller, HMSO)

Waterloo, it was crucial to the outcome of the battle, because 'infantry was (and is) the only force with which ground could (and can) be held . . . ' The massed attacks of French infantry on the British line were designed to achieve this occupation of the terrain. This form of warfare was guaranteed to produce huge casualty lists, even though the weapons used were relatively primitive and inaccurate. Considering the

denseness of the French columns and the small area within which the muskets on both sides were discharged, it would have been impossible to fire an aimed shot and not hit someone. Keegan sums up the phenomenon in a few telling sentences: 'The encounter which eludes the comprehension of the modern reader is . . . the Queen's Move of black-powder warfare, the head-on clash of heavy infantry, in close-order, over levelled musket barrels . . . What makes episodes of this sort so difficult for the modern reader to visualize, if visualized to believe in, if believed in to understand, is precisely this nakedly face-to-face quality, their offering and delivery of death over distances at which suburbanites swap neighbourly gardening hints, their letting of blood and infliction of pain in circumstances of human congestion we expect to experience only at cocktail parties or tennis tournaments.'

Morris graphically des-

cribed incidents during the infantry clashes that are all the more horrifying for his matter-of-fact style: 'The fire from the French infantry was so tremendous that our brigade divided, and sought shelter behind some banks . . . The only Captain we had left, invited us from the shelter of the bank to follow him in an attack on about three thousand of the French infantry. About a dozen of us accepted the invitation; and such was the destructive fire to which we were opposed, that we had not advanced more than six or seven paces, before every one of the party, except me and my brother, was either killed or wounded.'

It was also during an infantry clash, at the critical period of the battle, that Col. Sgt. Alexander Muir met his death: 'As we were retiring from the Imperial Guard, Sergeant Mure [sic] of the Grenadiers, a very brave and good soldier, in turning round to have a look at the enemy, received a musket

ball in the forehead, and fell on his back a corpse. A cousin of his named Morrison, ran back in the face of a most destructive fire, kissed his cousin on the cheek, let fall a tear or two, and then rejoined us.' The official records show only that Alexander Muir enlisted on 14 May 1811 and William Morrison a day later, but there is a lot more to be discovered about that relationship than any official record can tell us.

Of all the stories of individual pain, loss and waste that summarise the personal agony of Waterloo, one in particular stands out from the ranks of the 2/73rd. One of the private soldiers of the Grenadier Company who was killed was Duncan Campbell; he had enlisted in June 1803, and had spent most of his career with the 1/73rd in the East Indies. He obtained special permission to transfer into the 2nd Battalion so that he could remain the soldier-servant of Maj. McLaine, who had recently been gazetted to the 2/73rd. At just about the same time as Campbell was killed, his master was mortally wounded.

Archibald John McLaine had 'celebrated' his 37th birthday on the day of Quatre Bras; and it is an interesting comment on those times that Macready, mentioning an incident just before McLaine's wounding when he rallied some unsteadiness in the 30th Foot, could refer to him as 'old Major McLaine'. He was one of four soldier brothers who came from a family of Scallastle on the Isle of Mull. McLaine served for over 21 years in the 73rd Foot, most of that time in the East Indies with the 1st Battalion. He was mortally wounded late in the day at Waterloo, subsequently dying at Brussels; and Morris wrote that 'we regretted much the loss of our second Major, McLean, who had joined us some months before . . . He was . . . most deservedly popular with the men, for his urbanity and humanity, and it was on his suggestion that the Colonel had relinquished the practice

of flogging.'

Perhaps the most uncanny story of the Grenadier Company was that of Pte. John Parsons, 'one of the best-hearted, good-humoured, generous, fellows that I ever met with', according to Morris. More fond of drink than he should have been, Parsons nevertheless captured the affections of a Flemish girl in Antwerp, and although they did not marry, the girl was allowed to 'follow' the regiment because she had some beneficial influence on Parsons' behaviour. On the morning of Waterloo Parsons reported to his captain requesting a signature to his will. He had apparently dreamed that his recently dead mother had come to him, foretelling his death that day; Parsons wanted to ensure that his arrears of pay would go to his 'poor Therese'. His captain agreeing to this, Jack went away satisfied. Whether or not he was the victim of a self-fulfilling prophesy, Jack Parsons was killed at Waterloo.

The company roll

These have been the personal stories of some of the men of the Grenadier Company of the 2/73rd as told by Thomas Morris; other soldiers in other battalions have written their own accounts, but perhaps Morris's knack of telling a good tale makes the men of his unit seem more real than some others. However, no matter how intriguing these individual anecdotes, we can learn about the effects of battle, or recruiting patterns, or other social trends only from a broader statistical interpretation of the data. The following roll provides the opportunity to make some comparisons, and try to draw elementary conclusions.

If we exclude the regimental staff (they were listed only nominally in the pay of the Grenadier Company, and their respective fates were subject to different environmental factors) and the only two officers who can be identified positively as having served with the company (Robertson and Acres), the

Name	Rank	Born	Trade	Enlisted	Career
<i>Staff:</i> Wilham Ballam	Sgt. Mjr.	Shepton Mallet Somerset	Labourer	[43rd Foot] 20 Apr 1805 Hertfordshire Militia [73rd Foot] 24 Apr 1813	Killed in action Waterloo
Charles Collins	School-Master Sergeant	St. Mary's Nottingham	Framework knitter	27 Nov 1812 from Royal Hospital Chelsea	Killed in action Waterloo
John Taylor	Armourer Sergeant	Birmingham	Gunsmith	21 Apr 1807	Discharged to pension 24 Jun 1817
Robert Bain	Drum Mjr.	Glasgow	—	1 Oct 1812 Renfrew Militia	Killed in action Waterloo
<i>Company</i> Alexander Muir	Col. Sgt.	—	—	14 May 1811 Militia Volunteer	Killed in action Waterloo
John Burton	Sergeant	—	—	2 Apr 1813 2nd Royal Tower Hamlets Militia	Discharged 3 May 1817
Wilham Dunn	Sergeant	Kirtln. Lincs	—	5 Apr 1813 Militia Volunteer	Discharged, Broken leg 24 Apr 1817
Peter McCormick	Sergeant	—	—	26 Dec 1811 Leitrim Militia	To England wounded 17 Aug 1817
Henry Atkinson	Corporal	—	—	15 May 1811	Discharged 3 May 1817
Michael Loane	Corporal	Clogher, Tyrone	Labourer	1 Jan 1812	Wounded 16/18 June 1815 Ceylon service Discharged, own request 14 Sep 1831
James Streton	Drummer	Birmingham	Labourer	11 Aug 1809	Discharged, disability 9 Sep 1834
John Arnold	Private	Leeds	Carpet Weaver	5 May 1812	Ceylon service Discharged, debility 5 Feb 1822
Thomas Banford	Private	Dudley, Worcs	—	2 May 1811	Wounded 16/18 June 1815 Deserted 30 Mar 1816
Thomas Bould	Private	—	Weaver	8 May 1812 Staffordshire Militia	Died of wounds 28 July 1815
John Burley	Private	—	—	5 May 1812 Worcestershire Militia	Discharged 10 June 1817
Duncan Campbell	Private	Crothay, Aberdeenshire	Tailor	15 June 1803	Killed in action Waterloo
George Carey	Private	Frome, Somerset	Labourer	2 May 1811	Discharged, wounds 24 July 1816
John Connor	Private	Kilcobbin, Kerry	Labourer	11 Oct 1811 King's County Militia	Discharged, amputation 4 July 1820
Thomas Connor	Private	Louth, Lincs	Labourer	14 Feb 1811 Louth Militia	Died of wounds 7 July 1815
Thomas Daniels	Private	Worcester	Labourer	1 Apr 1813	Died 28 Sep 1818 Ceylon
John Davey	Private	—	—	22 Feb 1813	Prisoner of war Quatre Bras. Rejoined 18 June Ceylon service Discharged 2 Feb 1820
Patrick Downie	Private	Birr, King's Co.	Labourer	10 Sep 1810	Discharged, wounds 17 Mar 1819
Thomas Ellwell	Private	—	—	19 Apr 1809	Discharged, time expired 19 Apr 1816
John Gee	Private	—	—	4 May 1812 Royal West Middlesex Militia	Wounded 16/18 June 1815. Discharged 3 May 1817
Bernard Greenham	Private	Tullamore, King's County	Labourer	20 Jan 1812	Discharged, wounds 18 May 1818
William Hadley	Private	Oxford	Shoemaker	1 Apr 1813 King's Own Staffordshire Militia	Deserted 26 Apr 1816 Returned 7 Nov 1816 Discharged 24 Jun 1821 Ceylon
Francis Harman	Private	King's County	Tailor	12 Sep 1810 King's County Militia	Died Ceylon 10 Apr 1819
Elias Hill	Private	—	—	4 May 1812 Warwickshire Militia	Discharged 10 June 1817
John Hunter (1)	Private	Dumfries	Tailor	20 Aug 1811	Discharged, worn out 3 May 1817
John Hunter (2)	Private	Edinburgh	Shoemaker	14 May 1812	Wounded 16/18 June 1815 Died Ceylon 29 Sep 1817
Samuel Kirton	Private	Denton, Lincs	Labourer	9 Dec 1813	Wounded 16/18 June 1815 Ceylon service Discharged, sickness 4 July 1820

Grenadiers consisted of the colour-sergeant, three sergeants, two corporals, a drummer and 49 privates, making a total of 56 individuals.

To start the analysis with national origin, we know the birthplaces of 40 men (71% of

the total). Of those 40, 27 (68%) were of English origin, four (10%) were Scottish, and eight (20%) Irish; the remaining man, John Meltzor, was a Saxon.

For those men for whom we have a trade — 38 — the largest single category (17

men) was given as labourer (45%). The other trades occurring more than once were six weavers (16%), five tailors (13%), three shoemakers (8%), two metalworkers (5%), and two framework-knitters (5%). Trades unique to this company were

The Roll of No. 6 (Grenadier) Company, 2/73rd Foot, at Waterloo

Name	Rank	Born	Trade	Enlisted	Career
William Lane	Private	Reigate, Surrey	Lahourer	2 Apr 1813 2nd Royal Surrey Militia	Killed in action Waterloo
William Lawrence	Private	Birmingham	Brass Founder	2 Apr 1813 Warwickshire Militia	Died of wounds 20 June 1815
John Mannerly	Private	-	-	1 Apr 1813 Worcestershire Militia	Discharged 24 Apr 1817
James Manning	Private	Bewdley, Worcs	Tailor	11 May 1811	Died of wounds 11 July 1815
William Matthews	Private	Banstead, Surrey	Labourer	2 Apr 1813 2nd Royal Surrey Militia	Discharged, ophthalmia 24 June 1815
James McCabe	Private	Kilmarnick, Wiclowl	Bronze Maker	11 June 1812	Discharged, wounds 24 June 1817
Roger McGinn	Private	Clogher, Tyrone	Labourer	3 Dec 1811 Louth Militia	Died Ceylon 13 July 1821
John Meltzer	Private	Lüneburg, Saxony	Shoemaker	23 Oct 1813 [Stralsund]	Wounded 16/18 June 1815. Ceylon service Discharged, paralysis 24 June 1829
Thomas Morris	Private	St George's Middx	-	29 May 1813	Discharged 20 Nov 1818
William Morrison	Private	-	-	15 May 1811	Discharged 3 May 1817
John Mott	Private	Nottingham	Framework knitter	1 Apr 1813 Derbyshire Militia	Died Ceylon 6 Nov 1818
Patrick Murtagh	Private	St Peter's Louth	Weaver	3 Dec 1811 Louth Militia	Killed in action Waterloo
Edward Palmer	Private	Surrey	Labourer	2 Apr 1813 2nd Royal Surrey Militia	Died Ceylon 2 June 1819
William Pardoe	Private	-	-	1 Apr 1813	Sent to England 6 July 1815 wounded
John Parsons	Private	Shrewsbury	Cordwainer	5 May 1812 Warwickshire Militia	Killed in action Waterloo
John Patterson	Private	Paisley	Weaver	1 Oct 1811	Died Ceylon 3 Apr 1819
Samuel Pope	Private	Wolverly	Lahourer	1 Apr 1813 Worcestershire Militia	Killed in action Waterloo
James Quinn	Private	Adgerworth	Labourer	5 Aug 1812 Westmeath Militia	Died of wounds 25 July 1815
Joseph Rice	Private	Ilkeston, Derbyshire	Framework knitter	30 Jan 1812 Derbyshire Militia	Discharged, wounds 10 June 1817
William Robinson	Private	Kendal, Westmoreland	Tailor's Apprentice	2 Apr 1813 Royal Cumberland Militia	Discharged, wounds 13 June 1816
Thomas Rotherham	Private	Walsall, Staffs	Coach Harness Maker	4 May 1812 Staffordshire Militia	Killed in action Waterloo
William Saxhy	Private	-	-	10 June 1811 [his 16th Birthday]	Discharged Ceylon 15 Dec 1820
Samuel Shortley	Private	Coventry	Weaver	25 May 1811	Killed in action Quatre Bras
James Siverter	Private	Rowley Regis, Staffs	Nailor	3 Apr 1813 Worcestershire Militia	Wounded 16/18 June 1815. Ceylon service Discharged sickness 16 Oct 1833 [83rd Foot]
Richard Stanley	Private	Greashill King's Co.	Labourer	2 July 1811	Wounded 16/18 June 1815. Died Ceylon 4 June 1818
Thomas Stanton	Private	-	-	1 Apr 1813 King's Own Staffordshire Militia	Wounded 16/18 June 1815. Discharged by purchase Ceylon 24 Apr 1819
Ralph Surtees	Private	St Cuthbert's Cumberland	Weaver	5 Apr 1813 Royal Cumberland Militia	Discharged, wounds 14 Mar 1817
Thomas Thomas	Private	Somerset	Labourer	1 Apr 1813 Worcestershire Militia	Died Ceylon 16 Jan 1819
John Tolley	Private	-	-	1 Apr 1813 Worcestershire Militia	Ceylon service Discharged 18 May 1821

Note

We know the ages of just 12 men of the Grenadier Company: in 1815 five of these were aged 20, three 21, and one each 17, 19, 22 and 26. In the company, less the staff, 22 men had enlisted in 1813, 13 in 1812, 16 in 1811; only five had more than four years Regular service, two enlisting in 1809, two in 1810, and the faithful Duncan Campbell in 1803. We know the heights of only 14

(random) members of the company, but these are enough to call into question the tradition that Grenadiers were big men; three were 5ft. 8in., four 5ft. 7in., one 5ft 6in., three 5ft. 5in., two 5ft 4in., and one 5ft. 2in. (At this period Foot Guards are recorded as averaging 5ft. 7in. in the Battalion Companies, 5ft. 8in. in the Light Companies, and 5ft 11in. in the Grenadier Companies).

nailor, cordwainer and coach-harness maker. As for their enlistment, no less than 31 (55%) of our 56 men were volunteers from various Militias.

Now the statistics for mortality. Bearing in mind the anecdotal evidence for casual-

ties — Morris noted that at the end of the battle there were only two officers and 70 men to answer the muster — it might be imagined that the battalion had been virtually wiped out. In fact this is far from the picture painted by the official casualty returns,

and we must assume that the muster to which he refers took place in some confusion before the battalion had properly assembled after action. If the records are correct, on the morning of the 18th (having lost 56 casualties at Quatre Bras and on the retreat) the 2/

73rd had 23 officers and 475 men present, totalling 498. At Waterloo five officers and 47 men were killed outright (10.5%); 12 officers and 175 men were listed as wounded (37.5%); and 41 men were listed missing. Total casualties were thus 280 out of 498 (56.49%).

Of the Grenadiers, eight men (14%) can be positively identified as having been killed in action at Quatre Bras or Waterloo, and a further five (9%) died of wounds. However, a further 19 men (34%) were recorded as either wounded, or were later discharged as a result of wounds received in the Waterloo campaign, making a total of 32 men (57%) who can be counted as casualties. The fact that Thomas Morris himself is not included in this total although he was palpably hit (see above) is, I suspect, because an official 'wound' in 1815 had to be disabling to be counted; and it may be that anything up to a notional 100% of the battalion, let alone the Grenadiers, were hit badly enough to draw blood, without being hit badly enough to be put off their feet. If this speculation is true, it makes casualty figures in the Napoleonic period very difficult to interpret.

Even so, and despite the fact that the battalion and company figures quoted above are not compiled on exactly the same basis, their broad similarity seems convincing. To fight with the 2/73rd at Waterloo was to run a one-in-eight chance of getting killed outright, and more than a one-in-three chance of suffering a serious wound.

One last mortality statistic: 19 of these Waterloo Grenadier veterans (34%) went to Ceylon to join the 1/73rd Foot in May 1817; and nine of them (16%) died there. This means that by the end of 1821, when the regiment returned to Britain, 24 (43%) out of the 56 men who marched off to battle with the Grenadier Company of the 2/73rd in the early hours of 16 June 1815 were dead.

The North-West Frontier Between the World Wars

MICHAEL BARTHORP

Paintings by DOUGLAS N. ANDERSON
& JOHN MOLLO

Nowadays military booksellers and model manufacturers tend to advertise their wares under simplified categories — ‘Ancients’, ‘Napoleonics’, ‘ACW’, ‘WW2’ and so on. Occasionally ‘Colonial’ appears. This category usually seems to terminate with the Boer War, otherwise it presumably would overlap inconveniently with ‘WW1’. However, neither real life nor military history is as simple as that. For the British and Indian Armies ‘Colonial’, particularly on the North-West Frontier of British India, not only continued up to and during ‘WW1’, but also thereafter and into ‘WW2’. Those who cherish the 1938 film *The Drum*, still sometimes shown on television, will be aware of this; but others, however knowledgeable they may be about the Frontier in Victorian days, may not realise how much fighting experience the ‘wily Pathan’ gave to British and Indian soldiers well into the age of the tank and the bomber.

Many Pathans fought with, rather than against, the Indian Army in the Great War, some acquiring useful military expertise to be used later against their former comrades. In the unrest in the tribal territory within the NW Frontier following the Third Afghan War of 1919, the Wazirs and Mahsuds attempted to capitalise upon the then unreliability of the Waziristan Militia, one of many local forces which, since the beginning of the century, had been the only troops permanently stationed in the tribal areas, the Regular forces being held back in India proper. The troubles of 1920 were put down with Regular troops but, in reversal of previous policy, a permanent garrison of one British and five Indian battalions with supporting arms was established at Razmak in Waziristan in 1923.

The 1920s proved, on the whole, one of the most peaceable decades the Frontier had known, but it was the lull before the storm. In 1930 ser-

ious urban rioting occurred in Peshawar after the establishment of the Red Shirt movement — primarily a political organisation formed to redress Pathan grievances in the NW Frontier Province and which, though Muslim, had links with the Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru, then beginning to agitate for Indian independence. Trouble spread to the countryside, with the Afridis coming out in the Khyber and Tirah areas, and lasted until 1932. The following year it was the Mohmands’ turn, which continued into 1935.

The instigator of all anti-British activity from 1936 onwards was a Tori Khel Wazir religious fanatic, Mirza Ali Khan, otherwise known as ‘the Faqir of Ipi’. Perceiving the post-war constitutional changes in India and the activities of the Congress Party as a weakening of British rule, he seized upon a minor sectarian incident to stir up bellicose elements in Waziristan to insurrection. This was not unwelcome to

some members of the Congress Party; and in due course was fuelled by funds from the German and Italian legations in Kabul and from Soviet Russia. The Faqir was still keeping the Frontier pot boiling in 1940, when Britain stood alone in Europe.

FRONTIER SOLDIERING

At the height of these troubles up to 50,000 British and Indian Regulars were deployed on operations⁽¹⁾. In the course of a year over 1936-37

Wazir tribesmen of the type active in the 1920s and '30s, with SMLE rifle. (National Army Museum)

these troops sustained casualties of 242 killed and 685 wounded, a total only 214 less than those in the extensive Tirah campaign of 1897 — which of course had none of the aircraft, light tanks, armoured cars and machine guns available in Waziristan.

Though technical progress had enhanced military capabilities, the intervening years had seen no softening of the tribesmen’s ruthlessness. As



one 'Sardonicus' put it in a 1930s newspaper: 'There's a wounded man on the hillside/ And the picquet turns at bay;/ Then another falls/ And the picquet calls/ For help to get them away'. In contrast to European warfare, no wounded could ever be left here to the mercy of the enemy, whose methods remained as savage as ever. Kipling's warning to the wounded that 'the women come out to cut up what remains' was published in 1892, but the fear of such a fate was just as real to 'the young British soldier' of 1936.

One such, Mr T.G. Lee, then a bandsman/stretchers bearer with 1st Northamptonshire Regiment, has written: 'I think one of the thoughts uppermost in quite a few minds was a dread of being captured by tribesmen, their being past masters in the art of torture. The last round for yourself if the circumstances occurred, and stand by a wounded comrade'⁽²⁾. John Masters, then an officer of the 4th Gurkhas, recalled how, after all attempts to rescue a severely wounded British officer of an Indian battalion had failed, the body was later found 'castrated and flayed, probably while alive, and his skin lay pegged out on the rocks not far from camp'⁽³⁾.

Though the Pathans were unchanged, politicians and administrators had tightened up the rules of engagement. For the soldier on the ground this meant, in Masters' words, 'we fought with one hand behind our backs'; or, to quote 'Sardonicus' again: 'It's usually friendly country, /

That is, until it's not; / For that's the snag / When you're 'showing the Flag' — / You're never allowed first shot'. Since all tribesmen traditionally bore arms, an infantry section or platoon might be unable to determine whether a casually encountered hillman was friendly or hostile until one or more of their men lay dead.

Masters wrote that 'war on the Frontier was not very dangerous, but it was exacting, personal and merciless'. Though troops engaged on operations — 'on column', holding picquet positions on high ground, road-making to open up the country — might some days never see a hostile tribesman, vigilance and instant readiness could never be relaxed. If a picquet used the same route twice, if security of arms or posts was lax, if tribesmen were underestimated, retribution inevitably struck: Pathan eyes were always watching for any opportunity. An officer of the Tochi Scouts, one of the Frontier Militias, wrote scathingly of a tactfully unnamed⁽⁴⁾ but very famous British battalion with a great fighting record: 'The **** bought it again. They really are hopeless and all their casualties have been due to their own incompetence. I personally consider that the enemy realise they are easy meat and wait for them to come along.'

continued on page 32

2nd King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry and 39th Garhwal Rifles in the 'Red Shirt' riots, Peshawar, 1930, with Royal Tank Corps Crossley armoured car armed with two Vickers MMGs. (NAM)

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

(1A) Corporal, 2nd Bn., King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry in khaki drill service dress fighting order, as worn during Peshawar Riots, 1930. Wolseley helmet with regimental green pom-pom; KD tunic and shorts; regimental green hosiery; home service puttees; 1908 web equipment with haversack on back, mess-tin below strapped to waist belt; water-bottle attached as in Plate 1B.

(1B) Sergeant, 2nd Bn. Seaforth Highlanders in fighting order during Afridi operations, 1931. Wolseley helmet with regimental white hackle removed; regimental pattern flannel shirt; Mackenzie tartan kilt covered by drill apron; marching order hose and short puttees; equipment as Plate 1A

(1C) Detail of cartridge carriers. Top: right set, pouches empty. Below: Left set, pouches full, each holding 15 rounds in three clips. Item (1): Buckle for front brace attachment. (2) Extending piece for attachment to water-bottle (top) or haversack (below). (3) Bands for securing carriers to waist belt in addition to double hooks — not visible. (4) Diagonal straps for attaching to base of pack/haversack. (1D) Method of securing haversack on back as in Plates 1A and 1B, instead of suspending it at left side, by attaching tabs at upper rear to the braces, and buckles at lower rear to item 1C4. (1E) Waist belt's rear buckles with braces' rear ends attached thereto, and buckles' rudiments for attachment to rear buckles of haversack (left), water-bottle (right).

Helmet flashes and embellishments: (1F) Green Howards. (1G) Royal Artillery, 2 1/4 in. wide (1H) Royal Norfolk Regt., 3 in. deep. (1I) East Yorkshire Regt., 2 1/4 in. wide. (1J) Leicestershire Regt., 3 in. deep. (1K) DCLI other ranks, 2 1/4 in. wide; a single red upright feather was worn in front when not on service.

(2A) Lieutenant, C Company, 2nd Bn. Highland Light Infantry during the Mohmand operations, 1935. Wolseley

helmet with regimental tartan flash; KD shirt and shorts (HLL non-kilted); hosiery, short puttees; note regimental brass titles on company-coloured shoulder strap loops. Mills Equipment Co. webbing privately purchased by officers, with compass and binocular cases (right side), ammunition pouch, holster and haversack (left side); 1908 water-bottle on right side, obscured here.

(2B) Private, A Coy., 1st Bn. Northamptonshire Regt. during Waziristan operations, 1936-37. Pith topi with regimental flash; V-necked jersey over collarless flannel shirt — note company-coloured shoulder strap loops; KD shorts, hosiery, short puttees. No haversack; pack with ground-sheet under flap; KD cover for bayonet scabbard; water-bottle attached centrally to braces above belt. As a platoon runner he carries a furled picquetting screen under his pack straps, for display at or when moving to the picquet position to identify the picquet to aircraft and other troops.

(2C) Use of pack supporting straps in (top) usual method of securing pack to equipment; (below) as arm slings for pack, for rapid discarding, by 1/Northampton (see 2B); inside face of pack (right) showing top buckles to which supporting straps attached.

(2D) Method of fastening waist belts: (top) officer's, as in 2A; (bottom) 1908 pattern.

(2E) Picquetting screens displayed; black cross indicated Vickers MMG position.

Helmet flashes and embellishments: (2F) South Wales Borderers. (2G) Duke of Wellington's Regt., 2 1/2 in. wide — a narrow red piping was additionally worn at the top of the puggaree. (2H) Royal Hampshire Regt., 2 in. square. (2I) Essex Regt., 2 1/2 in. deep. (2J) King's Somerset Light Infantry, 1 3/4 in. square. (2K) Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders, 2 7/8 in. square — a white hackle was additionally worn when not on service.

All flashes were worn on the left side, and photographs show some examples worn on both sides.





Green Howards

1F



Royal Artillery

1G



Roy. Norfolks

1H



E. Yorks

1I



Leicesters

1J

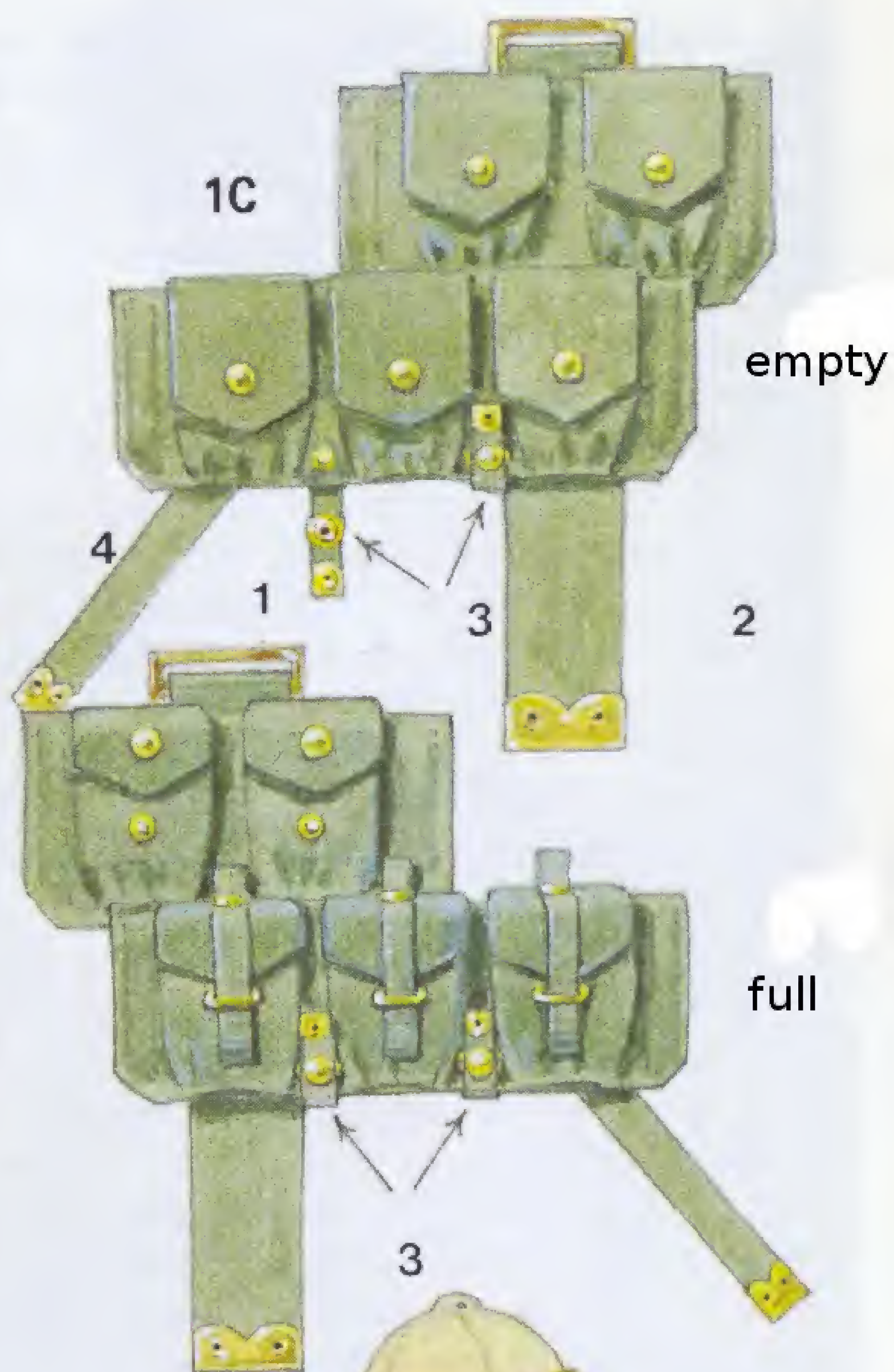


DCLI

1K



1A



1C

empty

2

full

3



1B

2/Seaforth's Afridi, 1931



1D

1E



3rd Light Battery, Royal Artillery, with 3.7in. howitzers during the Mohmand campaign, 1935. These guns were carried on mules. (NAM)

SOME CHARACTERISTIC ENGAGEMENTS

Though casualties were never heavy by conventional war standards, they could nevertheless be severe for what was, after all, technically peacetime, and only small-scale fighting.

In the course of one morning in May 1937 the 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders lost six killed and seven wounded while constructing a new picquet position to protect a camp. The actual work had been guarded by a covering party; but once this withdrew and the picquet garrison was installed, tribesmen who had watched the whole proceedings and managed to approach unobserved suddenly opened fire at close range from three sides, causing the casualties. Eventually a counter-attack had to be mounted from the camp 1,400 yards away to rescue the picquet.

It was not only fighting columns that sustained casualties. On 9 April 1937 a supply convoy of 45 lorries, with which a number of British Indian Army officers were returning from leave, was ambushed in the Shahur Tangi defile by Mahsuds. Despite being escorted by four armoured cars and 125 Indian infantry in lorries, plus an aircraft observing the convoy's progress, nine British and 20 Indians were killed and six British and 39 Indians were wounded — most within the space of 15 minutes. Lorries were slewed across the road, blocking all movement; the aircraft was hit by rifle fire and forced to land; and, though reinforcements were summoned, fighting went on all day and sporadically through the night. Not until the following morning (the Mahsuds having dispersed, well pleased with themselves)

Lt. A.J.H. Cassels (later Field Marshal) of the 2nd Seaforth Highlanders during the Afridi operations in 1930. He is accoutred with 1908 soldier's webbing with a revolver and, in the rectangular container, a pointer staff for indicating positions. (Queen's Own Highlanders)



could the chaos in the defile be cleared.

How savage and desperate the fighting could be can be illustrated in several incidents. Victoria Crosses are not easily won, yet two, both posthumous, were awarded: to Lt. Kenny of the 4/39th Garwhal Rifles for leading a ten-man counter-attack against a horde of Mahsuds in 1920 to give time for the rest of his company to withdraw to a fall-back position; and to Capt. Meynell, Adjutant of the 5/12th Frontier Force Regiment (Guides Infantry) in 1935, who took over command of a company position when its commander was killed, and held it until overrun by Mohmands. In this action the Guides' medical officer, Capt. Doherty, and a subaltern, Lt. Hamilton, both won the DSO, an exceptional decoration for such ranks; the Guides lost 35 killed and some 60 wounded⁽⁵⁾.

The picqueting of dominating ground to deny its use to the enemy, either while encamped or during movement, was a frequent task for the Infantry. Immediate covering fire from machine guns and/or mountain batteries should have been always available, as Infantry were particularly vulnerable when ascending to the position, while building the stone *sangars* for protection upon it, and when withdrawing; but sometimes the picquet had to rely on its own small arms.

In November 1937 a pla-

toon of 1st South Wales Borderers came under heavy fire from 300-400 yards' range while building a *sangar*. L/Cpl. Stuckey repeatedly exposed himself to fire while continuing the work and encouraging his section. When one was wounded he ran out under fire to bring the man back behind cover. The citation for his subsequent award of the Military Medal stated: 'His courage throughout was an inspiration to his men and his complete disregard for enemy fire set a fine example'. The same award went to Pte. Davies who also ran out to a wounded man, dressed his wounds under fire, and carried him back to safety at great risk to his own life.

The next day Lt. Rhys of the same battalion was ordered to picquet a very steep hill with his platoon. As they began to ascend they came under fire from 100 yards' range. Covered by his light machine gun, he pressed on with the remainder, up and around the hill. Though wounded, he managed to reach the top from where he forced the enemy, who were now below him, to withdraw. Despite his wound he remained with his men until relieved by another officer. For this, and his leadership previously, he was awarded the Military Cross. On the same day another MC went to Capt. Fawns of 13th Mountain Battery for his rapid and effective deployment of his



guns against tribesmen who were holding up the infantry advance, and for rescuing wounded under fire.

The highest gallantry award open to soldiers, short of the VC, was the Distinguished Conduct Medal. This was awarded to Pte. Letts of 1st Northamptonshire Regiment, whose platoon was under continuous fire for seven hours while manning a picquet protecting a road on 9 September 1937. Because of the nature of the ground and the proximity of the enemy to the picquet, the supporting mountain battery could not give close protection. Letts was wounded in the left chest early on but insisted on remaining at his post, frequently exposing himself to fire while locating enemy positions for the picquet commander. An Indian

Forward Observation Officer of the mountain battery fell wounded in the open. Letts ran out from the *sangar* and brought him back to safety, narrowly missing being wounded again himself. He continued to assist with the picquet's defence until the afternoon, when Bdsn. F. Lee⁽⁶⁾ managed to reach the picquet with a stretcher and a message from the company commander to the picquet officer, 2/Lt. Meredith, which ended, 'Think you had better persuade Letts to come back'.

Letts, described by a comrade as fearless, was admitted to the camp hospital; but a few days later, hearing his battalion again marching out on road protection, 'discharged himself, put on his kit, marched down the road and joined his company'⁽⁷⁾. His DCM citation said he had

been 'conspicuous for his acts of bravery and devotion to duty'.

In the same picquet were Ptes. Clarke and S. Lee, who had kept their light machine gun constantly in action, often in the most exposed positions, despite both being wounded and Clarke burning his hand to the bone while changing the gun-barrel; both received the MM and 2/Lt. Meredith was mentioned in despatches. One DCM, two MMs and a Mention, together with casualties of three killed and four wounded, in one picquet action indicate the severity of this platoon's stalwart defence against some very persistent tribesmen.

These miniature battles are merely examples of much of the Frontier warfare of the 1930s, but they also show something of the quality of a

Night picquet of the 1st Northamptonshire Regiment holding a sangar in Waziristan, 1937. Note cap-comforters. (Author's collection)

hitherto largely ignored breed — Britain's between-the-wars regular soldiers, of whom one, Mr T.G. Lee, has written: 'We were all volunteers from all over the country, products of the poverty of the '20s and '30s, who preferred to join the Forces after leaving school and later, rather than kicking our heels and doing nothing useful through unemployment, which was rife at the time without the help available as it is today'. Curiously, the bonds of comradeship forged in shared dangers among the regimental family on those Frontier hills made a more lasting impression on

some of those men than anything during the six years of global conflict that most endured shortly afterwards.

DRESS, EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONS

The clothing and equipment worn on Frontier operations was determined by the nature of the operations, the climate, and the regulation issue items of the period. From the foregoing examples of the fighting it will be apparent that they demanded agility and endurance, and that the high standard of physical fitness required had to be complemented by soldiers being as comfortably clad and as unencumbered as possible. At the same time they had to be able to exist and fight effectively in demanding conditions, summed up by John Masters as follows: 'A tilted wilderness of rock and scrub; hard, barren and jagged; split here and there by watercourses in which little water flowed; in summer a blinding glare from the ochreous ridges; in winter, a cold breath shaking snow off the

holly-oak on the mountain-side; intense heat, intense cold, vivid storms, violent people — everything was excessive.'

Uniform in India

The uniforms of the Army in India in the 1930s for normal duties were of sand-coloured khaki drill (KD) material, the essential features for Infantry being: tunic, of similar cut to the serge home service dress for British and Gurkha troops, of a longer pattern for Indians, over either shorts with hosetops and long puttees or, on certain occasions, long trousers without puttees by British, knickerbockers with either white gaiters or puttees by Indians. Mounted troops had netherwear sui-

table for riding. In the later 1930s for most duties except ceremonial, a KD shirt replaced the tunic. Highland regiments wore the kilt for most occasions, with hose-tops and short puttees or, for ceremonial, with diced hose and spats. Headdress for all British troops and British Indian Army officers was the Wolseley helmet, for Indian ranks a turban but for Gurkhas and Garwhalis the felt hat or Kilmarnock cap. The long-held theory that a sun-helmet was essential for British troops in daylight hours still held good. For equipment all had the 1908 web pattern used in the Great War, but for ceremonial the 1903 brown leather waistbelt and rifle sling were often used.

Headdress

Battalions engaged on the Frontier had to adapt this not altogether ideal kit as best they could. Indian and Gurkha troops retained their own headgear which was often adopted by their British officers. The Wolseley helmet, made of KD-covered cork and with a puggaree, was of smart appearance in barracks but too heavy for running up and down mountains; moreover, its ventilator on top was secured by a potentially dangerous screw. Up to the mid-1930s British troops had to put up with them, but thereafter for operations and training they began to receive a flat-topped pith 'topi'. This, though cumbersome-looking, was much lighter than the helmet, which was retained purely for parades in peacetime stations⁽⁸⁾. In the 1935 Mohmand operations 2nd Duke of Wellington's had these topis but 2nd Highland Light Infantry were still in helmets. Most regiments wore some distinguishing mark or flash upon their headgear. After sunset the woollen cap comforter was usually worn by soldiers in the field, the coloured field service cap (side-hat) by officers.

Clothing

The smartly tailored KD tunic with its brass buttons and insignia (see colour plate 1A), though designated *service dress*, gave way to shirt-sleeve order or was replaced by the jersey cardigan. An Indian newspaper photograph of the early 1930s shows an unidentified battalion dressed as Fig. A but with jerseys instead of tunics.

Right:

An officer and (right) the Commanding Officer of 1st Northamptonshire Regiment, Waziristan, 1937; the latter wears jodhpurs. The soldier (rear view, left) has slung his water-bottle on the left, contrary to battalion orders, to accommodate a binocular case. Note flashes on both sides of topis. (Author's collection)

Below:

Camp night and day guards of 1st Hampshire Regiment changing over, 1937. The night guard are in caps field service, greatcoats, serge trousers and chupplis; the day guard in topis, with yellow-and-black regimental flash, cardigans, shorts, hose-tops and puttees. (NAM)





Vickers medium machine gun of the 11th Sikh Regiment, Waziristan, 1936. To the right rear of the gun, looking towards the camera, is the range-taker with his rangefinder. (NAM)

The Indian Army's shirts were of a shade known as silver-grey whereas British soldiers had khaki, but of varying styles and shades: either the collarless flannel type issued at home, or locally made patterns, some with collars, some without, short or long sleeves, some with breast pockets, and in colour ranging from light to dark. Shirts with collars attached did not become a general issue for soldiers until after the Second World War, yet 2nd Seaforth Highlanders had collared shirts in India as early as 1925 (colour plate 1B), though 2nd Argylls in 1937 had them without. A collarless pattern worn by 1st Hampshires, of an Aertex-type material, was of a dark grey-green shade⁽⁹⁾.

Whatever the pattern, shoulder straps were usually sewn on to retain the equipment braces and to display distinguishing insignia, according to regiment. 1st Hampshires and 2nd Seaforth wore the brass regimental titles from the KD tunic; 1st Northamptonshire and 2nd HLI had different slip-on strips of coloured material for each company, respectively as follows: HQ Wing, red and black/buff and green; A Company, both blue; B, yellow/green; C, green/red; D (Machine-Guns), black and white/yellow (see colour plates 2A, 2B).

When actually on operations, particularly in hot weather, Indian troops wore their grey shirts outside their shorts, while British soldiers had theirs tucked in, which could be hot and uncomfortable. During an operation in

June 1937 the Northamptons' CO decided to take a leaf out of the sepoy's book and gave the order, 'Shirt tails out!'

The jersey worn over the shirt was V-necked and of a dark brownish-khaki shade. It had slits on each shoulder to permit the shirt's shoulder straps to be drawn through. A curious rank distinction prevailed in the Northamptons whereby soldiers tucked their jerseys inside their shorts, officers keeping them outside. NCOs wore chevrons of white tape on both shirts and jerseys, in some regiments on the right sleeve only.

KD shorts, which reached to just above the knee, were always worn during daylight hours except in especially cold weather. Though shorts went out of fashion in the Army in the 1960s (having lasted, for hot climates, since c.1905), they were nevertheless popular and practical on the Frontier as they permitted free play to the knee when moving fast on the hills. Highland regiments wore the kilt but with KD aprons; 2nd Seaforth had the kilt completely covered (plate 1B) but 2nd Argylls had the apron in front only. Non-kilted Scottish battalions like the HLI wore tartan shorts for some duties in barracks but KD shorts on operations (see plate 2A).

The lower leg was protected by woollen hoesocks, either of some khaki shade or of special regimental colour (plate 1A), pulled on over the socks, with puttees and ankle boots. In the 1920s and early 1930s puttees were the long, home service pattern except

for Highlanders, who had adopted a shorter type instead of spats in the Great War. From the mid-'30s all adopted short puttees with only three turns round the ankle. Instead of boots some Indian battalions wore nailed leather sandals called '*chupplis*' without puttees. British soldiers had these as well but generally only wore them in camp or after dark, when shorts, hoesocks and puttees were exchanged for khaki serge home service trousers. In very cold weather, when on guard or static picquets but not on mobile operations, greatcoats would be worn, sometimes with a sheepskin coat on top.

Equipment

The 1908 web equipment was common to all soldiers; but the items actually worn depended on the task in hand and time away from camp, balanced against the need for speed and agility up and down the mountains. The waistbelt, bayonet frog, braces, cartridge carriers (ten 15-round pouches) and water-bottle were always essential, though the full 150 rounds were neither always necessary nor conducive to speed. Mr. Lee recalls that 90 rounds per man was more usual, i.e. 45 in each carrier. Photographs of British battalions in 1930-35 show the pack discarded and the haversack (normally attached at the left side) in its place on the back; the mess-tin with cover fastened either to it or to the back of the waistbelt, and the water-bottle on the right (plates 1A, 1B, 1D). As the haversack only afforded lim-

ited capacity, this arrangement might suffice for short-term operations; but the mess-tin could be unstable, while the water-bottle, hanging below the waist, could bang uncomfortably against the hip.

In 1936-37 1st Northamptons adopted a different system, discarding the haversack, covering the bayonet scabbard with KD to prevent shine and rattle, and securing the water-bottle higher and out of the way at the rear by attaching its carrier's buckles to the braces above the waistbelt, immediately below the pack. This contained all the soldier's necessities when out on column: spare socks and underwear, trousers, '*chupplis*', eating and shaving utensils, towel, cap-comforter, 48 hours' rations, mess-tin, and groundsheet. Some small personal items might be permitted, one favourite, according to Mr Lee, being 'a very dog-eared paperback version of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* — strictly taboo in those days, but easily obtainable in the Razmak bazaar'⁽¹⁰⁾.

Instead of the pack being buckled to the equipment in the regulation manner, its two supporting straps, which normally held the pack tightly to the equipment, were used as slings through which the arms passed (plates 2B, 2C). Though some of the pack's steadiness was lost, this was mitigated by the absence of the greatcoat's weight, and the pack could be much more quickly discarded or replaced than when secured in the regulation manner. According to a photograph, 2nd Argylls in the same period slung their water-bottles similarly but, instead of the pack, carried haversacks and mess-tins as described earlier.



Riflemen of 2/9th Gurkha Rifles with Vickers-Berthier light machine gun in a sangar, 1940. Note the gunner's kukri, and water-bottle slung as described in the text for the Northamptons. (Rev. G.R. Buchanan)

Right:

18-pdr. field gun and limber of 64th Field Battery, RA, 1940; the towing vehicle is behind. (Rev. G.R. Buchanan)



Up to the early 1930s officers wore the Sam Browne equipment or soldiers' 1908 webbing modified to carry a revolver. By the 1935 Mohmand campaign officers were using privately-purchased webbing made by the Mills Equipment Company which was very similar to the pattern sealed in 1937 for officers (and used in the Second World War). It consisted of waistbelt, braces, holster, ammunition pouch and haversack on the left, binocular and compass pouches and water-bottle on the right (plate 2A).

Weapons

The primary weapon of an infantry battalion was still the .303-in Short Magazine Lee-

Enfield rifle with 17in. bayonet of the Great War. Officers were armed with .45in. revolvers; most usually carried ash walking sticks. A battalion's firepower was augmented by its 16 .303in. Vickers Medium Machine Guns of the MG Company⁽¹¹⁾. Until 1936 the rifle companies' automatic weapon had been the Lewis gun, one per platoon. When the Army at home was re-equipping with the Bren LMG⁽¹²⁾, the Army in India received a superficially similar weapon in the Vickers-Berthier LMG.

The most common artillery weapon on the Frontier was the mule-borne 3.7in. howitzer of the mountain, or

light, batteries; but occasionally 6in. howitzers or 18-pdrs. were deployed. The armoured cars used on the Frontier at this period can be seen in the accompanying photographs.



Acknowledgements:

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Maj. A.G.H. Moore, *Just as Good as the Rest* (no date)
Arthur Swinson, *North-West Frontier* (1967)

Regimental histories and journals of regts. mentioned Indian newspaper cuttings book comp. by Mr. F. Lee (1935-37)

Photograph album, 1935 Mohmand campaign, comp. by Brig. Auchinleck (NAM 6006-123)

Regimental files, Army Museums Ogilby Trust

Notes:

- (1) Including at one time or another the following British regiments (in order of seniority): 15/19 Hussars; Royal Tanks; RA; R. Norfolk, E. Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Green Howards, SWB, DCLI, DWR, Hampshire, Essex, Northamptonshire, KOYLI, KSLI, HLI, Seaforth Hldrs., Argyll & Sutherland Hldrs.
- (2) MSS account of Waziristan campaign, 1936-37; copies in National Army Museum, Northamptonshire Regt. Museum.
- (3) *Bugles and a Tiger* (1956)
- (4) By C. Chevenix-Trench, quoting Capt. W.A. Gimson, TS, in 1937, in *The Frontier Scouts* (1985), p.174.
- (5) For a full account of this action see C. Chevenix-Trench, *The Indian Army and the King's Enemies 1900-47* (1988), pp.123-6.
- (6) Brother of T.G. Lee, see note (2).
- (7) MSS account by Mr H. Bird, late Northamptonshire Regt.; copies in NAM and regtl. museum.
- (8) By 1939 the 'topi' had supplanted the helmet for all purposes.
- (9) Specimen in National Army Museum, *Story of the Army, Part 2*.
- (10) Razmak cantonment, Waziristan, was called by the soldiers 'the largest monastery in the world'.
- (11) See 'MI' No. 14, pp. 6-14.
- (12) See 'MI' No. 20, pp. 11-12.

US Navy SEALs Inflatable Ammunition-Carrying Jackets

DAVID E. SPENCER

One of the most exotic ranges of combat clothing introduced in response to the special conditions encountered during the Vietnam War was specific to the US Navy's elite special forces organisation — the 'SEALs'. These jackets, combining load-carrying capability with flotation bladders for water operations, are described and illustrated for 'M1' by US military specialist David E. Spencer.

The first SEAL teams (the acronym stands for 'Sea-Air-Land') were deployed to Vietnam in 1966 to bolster the American effort to rid the Mekong Delta of the Viet Cong. Assigned as strictly reconnaissance troops for the 'riverine navy', they were deployed to the Rung Sat Special Zone. Criss-crossed by rivers and canals and characterised by heavy vegetation and swamps, the Delta region provided an ideal staging area for the Communist insurgents and their northern allies. Because of the difficult terrain the Delta had been left virtually untouched by any effective South Vietnamese forces. However, the arrival of the Americans would soon make life more difficult for the enemy.

The SEALs were formed in 1962 to conduct covert amphibious counter-insurgency operations. By 1966 SEAL doctrine was still in the development stage and the SEALs were still relatively inexperienced, having seen a little action in the Dominican Republic and as advisers to the South Vietnamese. As the fighting in the Delta increased, the strictly reconnaissance rôle assigned to the SEALs quickly expanded to include raids, ambushes, prisoner snatches, infiltration, etc. As the rôle of the SEALs expanded, so their need for specialised equipment clarified. Among the specialised items developed exclusively for SEALs was the range of ammunition-carrying inflatable jackets known in official

jargon as 'Coats, Ammunition Carrying, Buoyant, and Bladder.'

KIT PROBLEMS

In general the SEALs were left to their own devices when it came to uniforms and equipment: the rule was 'whatever works best for the individual, goes'. This led to some bizarre combinations, which sometimes included jeans or captured VC gear; but in general a man's uniform consisted of a camouflage shirt and trousers, web gear, and a black rubber inflatable survival vest. While this was generally adequate, there were continual efforts to

improve equipment to match operational requirements in Vietnam.

In the dense and tangled vegetation of the Delta web gear and survival vests frequently got caught on clinging foliage known as 'wait-a-minute vines', which slowed a man down and caused unnecessary noise. A thorny plant known as 'black palm' punctured survival vests, rendering them useless. Furthermore, the survival vest's black, square shape contrasted with the SEALs' uniform, outlining a man's chest area to provide a perfect aiming point on his vital organs for enemy snipers;

Below

Navy SEAL running to disembark from an ASPB on the Rach Thom/Rach Mo Canal, 25 January 1968. His modified early-version jacket is identified by the snap-fastened front and the ammunition pouches on the sleeves. One M-16 pouch on each side of the front has been replaced by two three-round 40mm grenade pockets, carrying rounds for the XM-148 launcher attached to his modified CAR-15 (note full buttstock replacing telescopic version). He has also sewn a number of grenade pouches to the small of his back, one being visible just above the fragmentation and smoke grenades carried on his left hip. He has an M-72 disposable AT launcher slung over his right shoulder. (US Navy)

Below left:

Camp Picket, Virginia, 12 May 1969: a SEAL wearing an early-version jacket on the rifle range with a CAR-15. Note early attachment for first aid kit behind neck, deep shoulder pleat, and velcro tie-down strap for sleeve-mounted M-16 pouch. (US Navy)



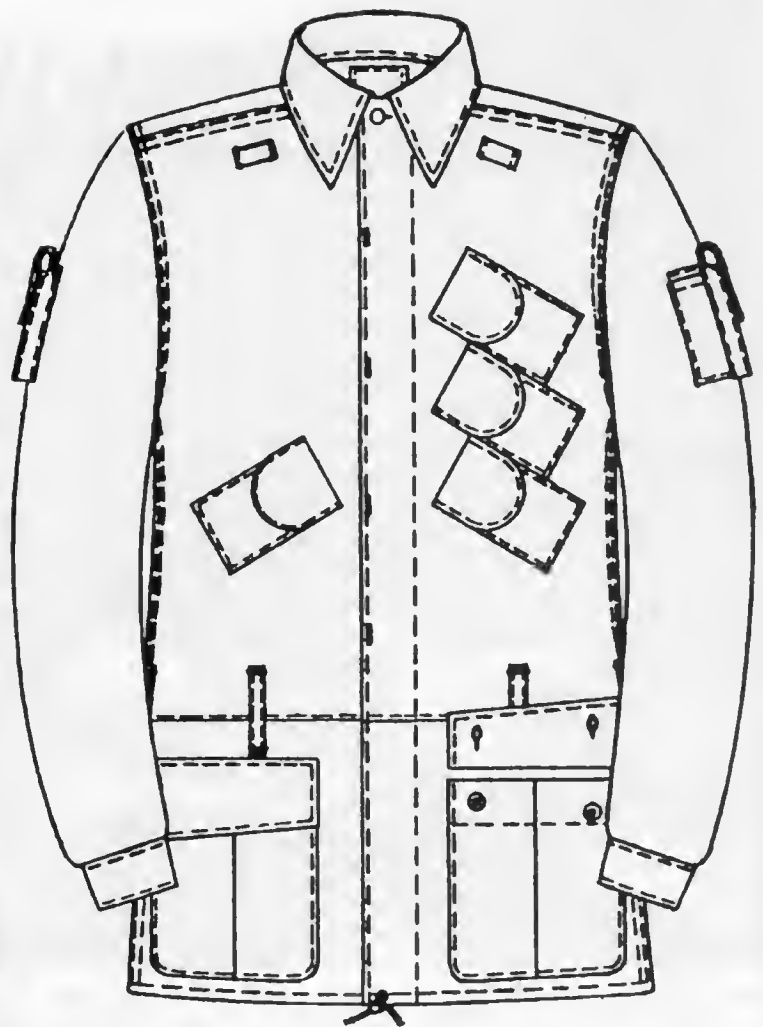


Above:

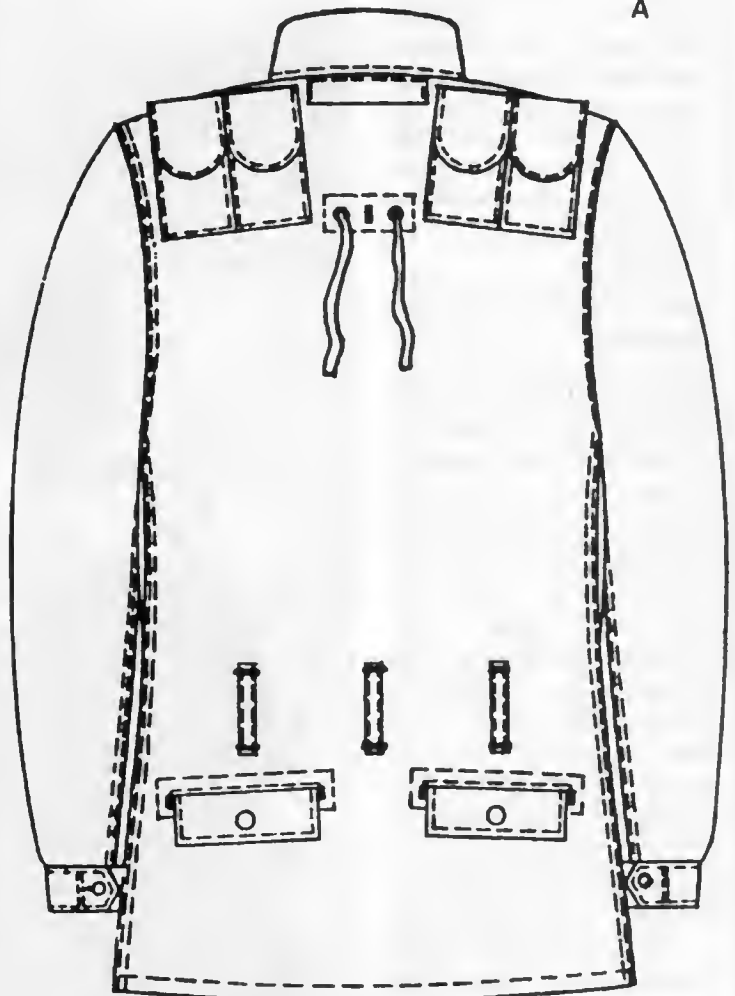
Tan Dinh Island, 26 March 1968: a SEAL prepares demolition charges to blow a VC bunker. Note tab and lacing arrangement to adjust the sides of the early-version jacket. The sleeves, cargo pockets and sleeve pockets have been cut off this example — typical of the latitude given to the SEALs to modify their kit however they preferred it. (US Navy)

Right:

Official US Navy drawings of Natick Labs. jacket, specification number MIL-C-29105(SA): (A) 'Coat, Buoyant, Ammunition Carrying; Type I — Rifleman'. (B) 'Type II — Grenadier'. (C) 'Type III — Radioman'. (D) 'Bladder, Flotation'. (E) Interior detail, left front panel.



A



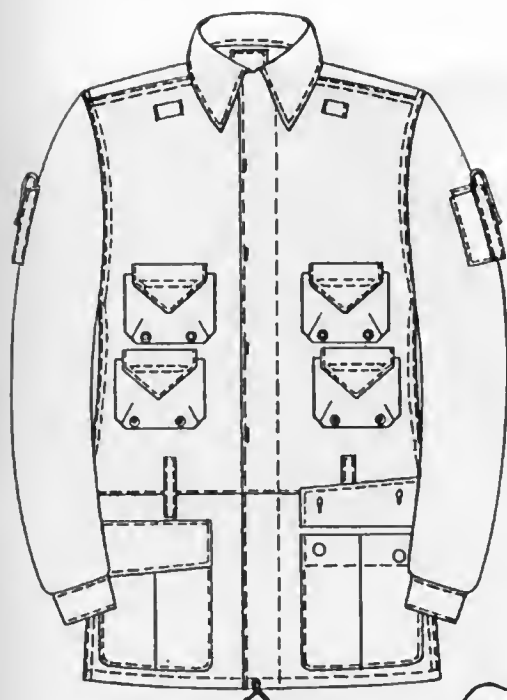
and the metal CO² cartridge and inflation tube fixtures of the vest were unpainted metal and glinted in sunlight.

Since most operations involved some swimming, the heavy cotton web gear — standard Army M-56 — soaked up a lot of water; once soaked, it would chafe and become very uncomfortable to wear. Furthermore, once wet the M-56 harness tended

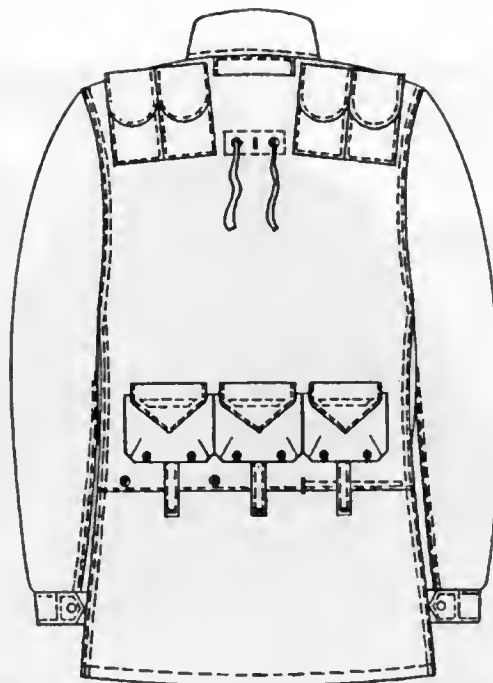
to stay wet. It also concentrated the weight of the gear on a man's hips, which increased his discomfort and tended to drag him down.

Ways were always being sought to redistribute the weight of a man's load, while increasing the amount carried and the comfort of the wearer. The buoyant jacket was designed with the intention of filling these needs. The solution developed by the SEALs was a camouflage jacket which incorporated an internal inflatable bladder and integral ammunition pockets on the chest, arms and back.

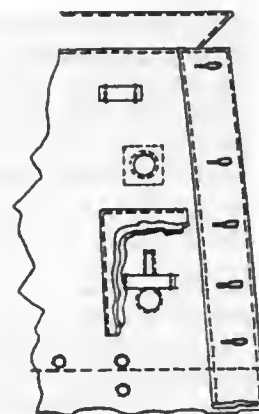
The idea for the jacket was not entirely new. In World War II the British developed a special buoyant, waterproof suit for their beach reconnaissance teams known as COPPs (Combined Operations Assault Pilotage Parties). The COPPs suit had an internal bladder, and various pockets for equipment and weapons on the outside. The COPPs suit may have served as inspiration for the SEALs when they designed their buoyant jacket.



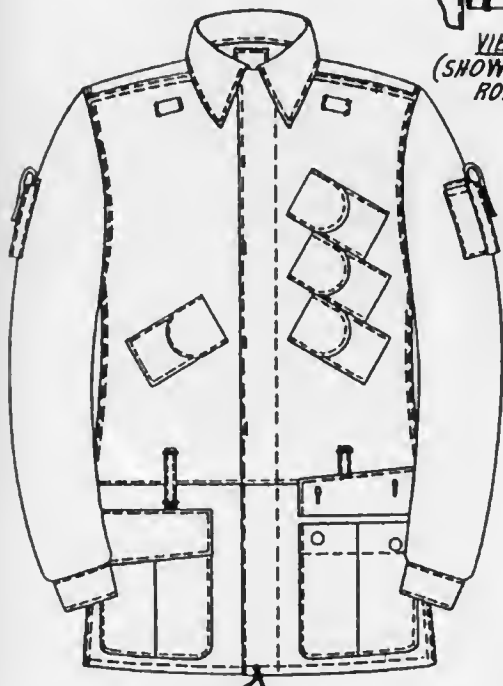
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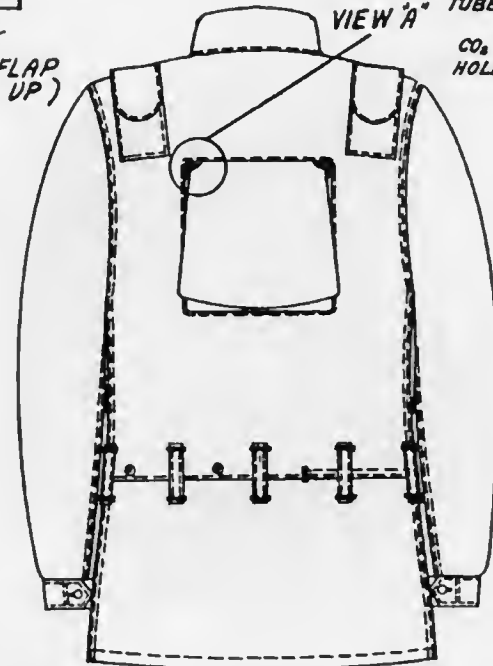
E



VIEW 'A'
(SHOWING FLAP
ROLLED UP)

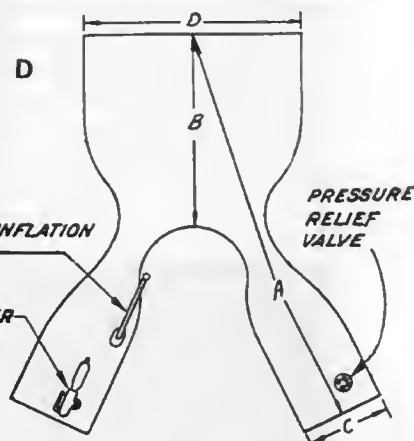


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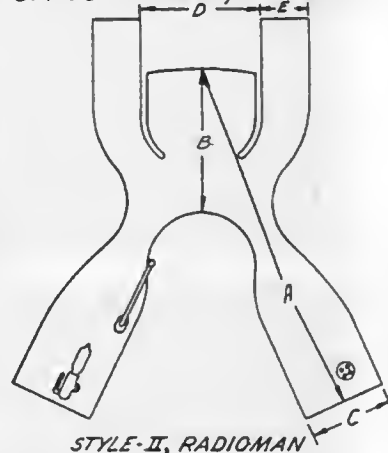


VIEW 'A'

ORAL INFLATION
TUBE
CO₂ HOLDER



STYLE-I RIFLEMAN, GRENADE



STYLE-II, RADIO MAN

THE SEAL JACKETS DESCRIBED

The original version of the jacket was somewhat complex. The outer shell was a substantially modified camouflage jacket. The front buttons were replaced by a flap with four brass snaps. The breast pockets were replaced by four pouches — three on the left, and one on the right — that could each carry two 20-round M-16 magazines. The pouches were closed by flaps with velcro tabs, and provided with drainage holes in the bottom so the magazines would dry once a man emerged from the water. Nylon speed-tabs were sewn into the pouches for quick

magazine extraction. Two identical ammunition pouches were sewn on to the shoulders, and another two were placed on a flap over the tricep, secured to the arm by a strap with a velcro closure. Just behind the neck were tabs and nylon lacing designed to attach a first aid kit. About half way down the back were slits to install and remove the inflatable bladder.

A special pleat was sewn up each side of the back to the shoulders, to allow maximum movement to the arms. The sides of the jacket were left open at the underarm, with three sets of nylon loops and nylon cord to connect the

front and back. This arrangement provided ventilation, as well as a means to loosen the jacket when inflated and to adjust it closer to the body when deflated. Loops were also provided around the waist for the standard pistol belt.

A second layer of cloth inside the jacket sheathed the bladder. An opening was provided on the inside of the left front panel for the CO₂ cartridge and an oral inflation tube. A pad was sewn over the opening for the CO₂ cartridge to lessen discomfort for the wearer. The CO₂ device could be activated by a striker connected to a toggle which ran through a hole to

the front of the jacket next to the belt loops.

The advantages of the jacket were that it combined three items of equipment into one; camouflaged and protected the survival bladder; and distributed the weight across the upper torso, which in addition to increased comfort, kept ammunition dry when a man had to wade through water. The original jackets were produced by a private contractor working directly for the SEALs and were bought with special SEAL funds.

The jackets were issued and tested in combat. Many SEALs found them ideal for short missions such as over-

night ambushes and raids. After several months of testing the item was found to be satisfactory, and the jackets were sent to Natick Laboratories for further modification and standardised production.

Modifications

Minor changes were made. The snaps were replaced by regular buttons hidden under a flap. Two nylon loops for attaching equipment were added above the magazine pouches. The attachment tab for the first aid kit was modified. Ammunition pouches on the sleeves were moved to the shoulders, making the total number of pouches on the shoulders four. Much smaller pockets were placed on the sleeves to carry compasses, first aid dressings or cigarettes. A pencil pocket was added next to the pocket on the left sleeve. The shoulder pleats were eliminated and the open side seams sewn shut. Finally, the two openings for bladder insertion acquired flaps and snaps and were moved down below the belt loops.

Radio and grenade jackets

Based on requests from the field, in addition to modifying the basic rifleman's jacket Natick developed a version of the jacket to carry the PRC-25 radio, and another version to carry ammunition for the XM-148 grenade launcher⁽¹⁾.

The radioman's version was identical to the new rifleman's jacket except for a few modifications. A hole was cut in the back of the jacket, the size of a PRC-25 radio, and a flap was added to cover the radio. Two elastic cords were sewn in the upper corners to secure the flap when rolled up. This allowed the radioman to wear the radio on its frame over his T-shirt, and wear the jacket over that, with the radio fitting through the hole in the back. The inflatable bladder was modified to fit around the radio.

To leave space for the antennae the tab for the first aid pouch was removed, as

Front and rear of Natick-designed grenadier's jacket. (These, and all from same sequence, author's photos)



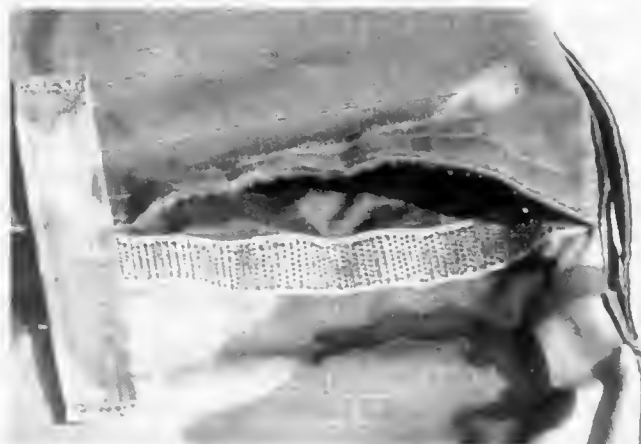
Front and rear of Natick-designed radioman's jacket. (The rifleman's jacket was identical at the front.) The rear view shows the covering flap rolled up.



well as two of the four ammunition pouches on the shoulders. Instead of two snap-down flap openings for inserting the flotation bladder, a slit was provided just

Below:

The lanyard to activate the CO₂ cartridge emerged through an eyelet in the front left panel just outside the bottom of the first belt loop. The insertion slit for the bladder was located in the right rear panel closed with velcro.



(1) The predecessor to today's M-203

(A) Detail of the M-16 ammunition pouch showing the proper position of the 'speed tabs', and their operation. (B) Right hand sleeve first aid pocket, with additional pen pocket, seen here from rear. (C) Inside left front panel, with pad covering CO₂ cartridge, and oral inflation tube. (Author's photos) (D) On the Bassac River, Vietnam, November 1969: SEALs prepare for a mission aboard a riverine craft. The foreground man wears an early-version rifleman's jacket with sleeves, collar and cargo pockets cut off to make a vest, and the bladder has been removed from its internal sheath — its edges can just be made out, protruding from under the front edges of the open vest. In left background two men wear Army grenadier's vests; the man in the 'boonie hat' also wears a pouch from the then-experimental nylon M-1967 web gear. (US Navy)

B



D

C

A

inside the bottom of the belt loops on the right of the back. This slit was about 6in. long, and opened and closed by a velcro tab running the length of the slit.

The grenadier's jacket was identical to the rifleman's version except for the following modifications. The M-16 pouches on the chest were replaced by four pockets each able to carry a three-round plastic clip of 40mm grenades. These pockets had darts to fit snugly around the clips, and drainage holes in the lower corners. The method of closure was a long triangular flap with a velcro tab. An additional three grenade pouches were placed on the small of the back immediately above the belt loops. The four M-16 pouches and first aid kit tab on the shoulders were retained. The insertion opening for the inflatable bladder was the same as on the radioman's version.

Field use

Over 1,200 of these jackets were delivered to the SEALs before 1969. About half were

Above:

Attachment point for first aid kit behind neck; either the older or the newer kit could be attached, but for the latter the attachment clips had to be turned upside down.

Centre:

Detail of 40mm grenade pouches on left front panel.

Bottom:

Garment tag in a Natick radioman's jacket; and markings on the bladder for rifleman's and grenadier's jackets. Two rifleman/grenadier's bladders inspected by the author were of different materials. One was made of thick, rubberised, bright orange cloth — probably so that it could be used as a recognition panel. The second example was made of lightweight grey neoprene-coated ripstop cotton, and was much lighter and more comfortable to wear.

rifleman's jackets, with the remainder divided roughly evenly between the radioman's and the grenadier's versions. These were issued to SEAL Teams 1 and 2 and UDT Teams 21 and 22, 500 examples going to each SEAL team and 100 each to the UDT teams. It is not known if any more were

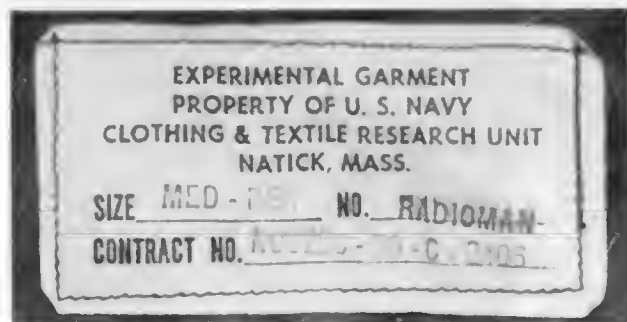
acquired after this date.

In service, many men quickly modified the jackets to suit their individual preferences. Sleeves and collars were usually cut off, followed by the cargo pockets; the resulting vest seems to have been a popular modification. Men wore the modified jacket over a regular

combat jacket; this allowed the SEAL to jettison the item in an emergency, while wearing the jacket by itself made it much more difficult to do this. The radioman's version was not very popular for this reason, as it was nearly impossible to remove the radio without removing the jacket. Furthermore, the SEALs found it necessary to carry two bladders with heavy items like the radio and the M-60. The cut-down bladder of the radioman's jacket was far less than adequate for this purpose.

At about the same time the grenadier's jacket became available the SEALs were able to acquire grenadier's vests developed by the Army. This nylon mesh vest could carry 24 rounds (three more than the SEAL jacket); sat tighter on the body; and was cooler, and easier to jettison — all points which made the SEAL jacket a less attractive item. Another problem encountered was that the velcro pockets made a lot of noise when opened, and could alert the enemy to the SEALs presence. A satisfactory solution was to coat the velcro with a layer of petroleum jelly.

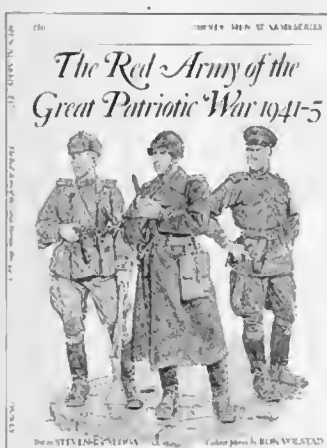
While never an overwhelmingly popular item, the inflatable SEAL jackets were useful. They combined three items into one, distributed weight across the torso rather than around the waist, protected and concealed the life preserver, and carried more ammunition than the regular web gear. As late as 1980 a US Marine captain attached to the SEALs told the author that he had seen them still being used in some numbers on manoeuvres — evidence that the item had some merit. [M]



RIFLEMAN; GRENADIER, TYPE 1
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THE BLADDER SHALL BE INSERTED
INTO THE AMMUNITION VEST FLOIAD
EITHER THROUGH THE OPENING
INSIDE OF CENTER BACK POCKET
OR THROUGH THE OPENING
AT BACK RIGHT WAIST LINE.

MAA216 'The Red Army of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45' by Steven Zaloga, plates Ron Volstad. The title hints at the main point about this book — it is drawn from Russian sources, not Western; and has a lot of new information and particularly illustrations to offer the reader. The photos are the most immediately striking feature — only one or two have been seen in the West before, and there are many superb studies, full of interest and character. The text describes the organisation, nature, and appearance of all main types of unit and some interesting 'specials'. The colour plates, up to Mr. Volstad's highest standards and full of feeling as well as uniform details, are devoted to identifiable phases of the war.



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All these titles can be recommended as good value for money to readers interested in their various periods. JS

'Badges of the French Foreign Legion 1923-1989' by Philippe Bartlett; private publication available from Sabre Sales, 75 Castle Rd., Southsea, Hant. PO5 3AY, UK; 64pp, of which 24 col.; h/bk; retail £25.00; trade £19.00 for minimum order of ten copies. This most enterprising private publication is strongly recommended. It is attractively designed and produced to a format the same size as this magazine page, and well bound. The 24 colour photograph plates include 429 badges — all known badges of Legion units (and military college promotions) apart from a few locally-made variations of illustrated designs, according to the author. Each is captioned with identity, date,

manufacturer, whether or not officially approved, whether or not res-trikes are known, and a rarity rating. Many interesting small-unit and crude 'local' badges are illustrated as well as unit breast insignia. The English language text shows evidence of not having been checked by a native English-speaker, but is perfectly usable. An important hook for collectors of these attractive insignia, and a brave project for an individual, which deserves every success. MCW

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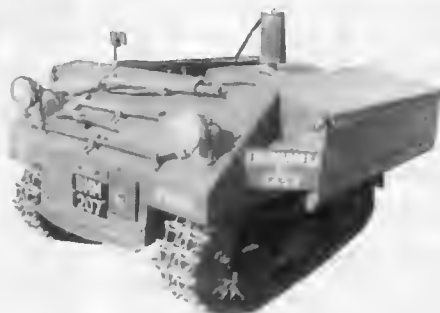
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Henry Hardinge

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE
Paintings by PETER DENNIS

'Send me Hardinge or some staff-officer who has intelligence, to whom I can talk about the concerns of the Portuguese army'⁽¹⁾. This comment by Wellington to Beresford expresses the view the Duke always held about the merits of Henry Hardinge, who rose by his own skill to succeed Wellington himself as Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.

Hardinge was born on 30 March 1785 at Wrotham, Kent, the third son of Rev. Henry Hardinge, rector of Stanhope, Co. Durham. There was no great military tradition in the family (though his ancestor Sir Robert Hardinge of King's Newton raised a troop of horse for Charles I); but three of the five Hardinge brothers had distinguished careers in the armed services. Henry's younger brother Richard rose to the rank of major-general in the Royal Artillery; and his elder brother George Nicholas rose to command the frigate *HMS St Fiorenzo*, in which he was killed by a discharge of grapeshot during a most heroic action in the Gulf of Manaar on 8 March 1808 in which the French frigate *La Piedmontaise* was captured. Adm. Sir Edward Pellew writing of his 'most remarkable zeal, gallantry and judgement' and 'his many, great and excellent qualities'.⁽²⁾

Similar qualities were evident in George's younger brother Henry, who after Eton entered the Queen's Rangers (in Upper Canada) as an ensign in 1799. From the early stages of his career it was clear that he was not destined for simply regimental service. Trained in staff duties under Gen. Jarry at High Wycombe, his first active service (as a captain in the 57th Foot) was as Deputy Assist-

ant Quartermaster General at Vimciro, where he was wounded. At Corunna in January 1809 he was at Moore's side when the general received his mortal wound, and staunched the blood with his own sash. It was Hardinge who attempted to remove Moore's sword from the bloody ruin of his chest, to be told 'It is as well as it is. I had rather it should go out of the field with me' — which Hardinge never forgot⁽³⁾.

Because of his abilities, Hardinge was appointed by Beresford as Deputy Quartermaster-General of the reorganised Portuguese army, in which important post he was present throughout the Peninsular War. He served at Roleia, Busaco, Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, Vittoria (where he was again wounded), the Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthez and Toulouse; but it was at Albuera on 16 May 1811 that he was most distinguished, and indeed might even be said to have been responsible for the outcome of the action.

DECISION AT ALBUERA

Beresford was not the most gifted of tacticians, though at Albuera he was hindered by his dependence upon a large Spanish contingent of questionable value and not under his direct orders. When complete disaster threatened his right wing Beresford hesitated to commit his reserve, Lowry Cole's 4th Division, lest it be required to cover a retreat. Seeing the approaching disintegration of the right, and without orders, young Hardinge galloped over to Cole and begged him to advance. Under his urging Cole moved in support of the shattered right wing; his Fusilier Brigade swung



Sir Henry Hardinge, c.1845; engraving by G. Stodart.

across the rear of the line like a red gate, and traded volleys at short range in perhaps one of the most celebrated incidents in British military annals, graphically described by William Napier in one of the most famous passages of military history ever written. Without Hardinge, it is likely that Albuera would have been a defeat⁽⁴⁾, instead of a hideously costly victory.

Hardinge received a lieutenant-colonelcy 'in the Army' (not a regimental rank) on 30 May 1811, and was appointed 'captain and lieutenant-colonel' (in the unique scale of ranks in the Foot Guards) in the 1st Guards on 25 July 1814. For the 1815 campaign he was attached to the Prussian headquarters as British 'commissioner'. He lost his left hand at Ligny on 16 June 1815, the night of which he spent 'in a wretched hut with his amputated left hand lying by his side'⁽⁵⁾. This injury gained him the description by Daniel O'Connell of 'the one-handed miscreant'. Wellington wrote that 'He had conducted himself during the time he was so employed [as British liaison officer] in such

a manner as to obtain the approbation of Marshal Prince Blücher and the Officers at the Prussian head quarters, as well as mine, and I greatly regret his misfortune'⁽⁶⁾. Hardinge had already been appointed a KCB (2 January 1815), and for the loss of his hand was granted a £300 pension and, from Wellington, a court sword which had belonged to Napoleon.

His friendship with Wellington remained firm; when the Duke fought his celebrated duel with the Earl of Winchelsea, Hardinge acted as the Duke's second (though his surgeon had to load the pistols, Hardinge having but one hand). As Hardinge paced out the distance between the combatants, Wellington remarked 'Damn it! don't stick him [Winchelsea] up so near the ditch. If I hit him he will tumble in!'⁽⁷⁾. Hardinge occupied several high offices, sitting as Tory Member of Parliament for Durham from 1820: Secretary at War in Wellington's

cabinet in 1828 and in Peel's 1841-44; and Chief Secretary for Ireland 1830 and 1834-35.

THE SIKH WAR

Wellington had so high opinion of him — remarking that Hardinge always understood what he undertook and only undertook what he understood — that he recommended him as Governor-General for India, in which post Hardinge succeeded Lord Ellenborough in 1844, in which year he was elevated to the rank of GCB (1 June).

Hardinge arrived shortly before the outbreak of the 1st Sikh War, and though as Governor-General he was in overall command in India, he magnanimously volunteered his services as a general officer to Sir Hugh Gough, the army commander. Gough appointed Hardinge, his political master, as his military second-in-command. It was not an ideal arrangement, but it saved lives: at the hard-fought battle of Ferozeshah Hardinge temporarily re-asserted his authority and insisted that Gough not engage until reinforced — a usurpation of Gough's command which probably prevented defeat. Throughout the campaign Hardinge was an important restraining influence upon Gough, whose idea of tactics, it was said, was to 'Lather away with your old oak stick'

— not perhaps, too unjust a comment upon a great fighting general whose tactical and strategic ability was limited. Victory over the Sikhs was equally due to the cool, experienced Hardinge; and when the war was concluded Hardinge was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Hardinge of Lahore and King's Newton, Derbyshire.

With a pension of £3,000 per annum for his own life and that his next two successors (he declined the East India Company's proffered £5,000 annuity), Viscount Hardinge returned home in 1848; he succeeded Wellington as commander-in-chief in 1852 and was appointed field-marshal in 1855. As commander-in-chief he was responsible for the management of the Crimean War, which he conducted to a degree on Wellington's principles, perhaps not altogether successfully due to the changes which had occurred since Waterloo.

In July 1856 Hardinge resigned his office due to ill-health, and died on 24 September of that year at South Park, near Tunbridge Wells. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles Stewart, who had been his secretary in India, whose second son Charles (later Baron Hardinge of Penshurst) was himself appointed Governor-

General of India in 1910.

Of all Wellington's staff officers — including his Military Secretary Fitzroy Somerset, who as Lord Raglan commanded the army in the Crimea — Hardinge probably had the most distinguished career, and undoubtedly justified the Duke's confidence in his military abilities. 'A plain, straightforward, just and excellent man of business': few higher tributes could be paid⁽⁸⁾.

MI

Notes

- (1) *The Wellington Memorial*, A.J. Griffiths, London 1897, p.304.
- (2) Pellet to Hon. William Wellesley-Pole; *London Gazette*, 20 December 1808.
- (3) Sir John Moore, C. Oman, London 1953, p.596. See also 'MF' No. 11, p.50.
- (4) The exchanges between Cole and Hardinge are covered in detail in the *United Services Journal*, 1841.
- (5) *Waterloo Roll Call*, C. Dalton, London 1904, p.101.
- (6) Wellington to Earl Bathurst, 30 June 1815; *Dispatches of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, ed. J. Gurnood, London 1834-39, XII p.523.
- (7) For an account of the duel, see *Wellington: Pillar of State*, Elizabeth Countess of Longford, London 1972, pp.187-88.
- (8) Griffiths, *op.cit.*, p.304.

Sources

Viscount Hardinge and the Advance of the British Dominions in the Punjab (Charles Hardinge, 1900) is probably the leading source, though Hardinge is mentioned in histories of the Sikh Wars, and in such other sources as the autobiography of Harry Smith, and to a considerable degree in the modern biography of the latter *Remember You are an Englishman*, J. Lehmann, London 1977.

Peter Dennis's reconstructions opposite show (top) Sir Henry Hardinge as a captain and lieutenant-colonel in the 1st Foot Guards attached to Blücher's staff at Ligny, 16 July 1815. It is possible that Hardinge may have worn a version of Staff uniform in the Waterloo campaign, though as his appointment to the Prussian headquarters was only at Wellington's behest he remained on the regimental roll. This illustration shows him wearing the 'dress' version of the Guards' long-tailed coat (as opposed to the 'full dress' version with more lace). Guards officers on active service commonly wore the short-tailed jacket, but probably some use was made of the tail-coat (especially by those in staff appointments), and Capt. Gronow recalled having his coat-tail shot off at Waterloo — further support for the use of the long-tailed version. Company officers suspended the sword from a shoulder belt, but field ranks use a waist belt; the sword shown is an unregulated 'manchuke'-hilted version, taken from a weapon supposedly carried at Waterloo by another 1st Guards officer employed in staff duties, Sir Thomas Bradford.

(Bottom) Hardinge as Governor-General for India and military second-in-command at Ferozeshah, 21 December 1845. In Sir Francis Grant's painting of Hardinge and his staff at Ferozeshah he wears a typical 'undress' uniform of dark blue or black coat bearing the GCB, a plain cocked hat and light trousers, with the sword presented to him by Wellington at the 'Great Review of the Allied Army' in 1816, reputedly 'the sword which Napoleon wore at Waterloo' (according to the 2nd Viscount Hardinge: see *Early Victorian Portraits*, R. Ormond, London 1973, p.212). So precious was this relic that before the second day of the battle of Ferozeshah, when the success of the battle lay in the balance, Hardinge arranged for the sword to be sent to his wife, fearing its loss if he were killed. (He had married Lady Emily Jane, daughter of the 1st Marquess of Londonderry on 10 December 1821, sister of Viscount Castlereagh and of Charles Stewart, 3rd Marquess, who like Hardinge was one of Wellington's most able subordinates.) Hardinge himself was not a large man despite the attentions of two maiden aunts who, it is said, made him hang from a door by his arms in an attempt to stretch him!



Left:

Sir Henry Hardinge at the battle of Ferozeshah, 21/22 December 1845, accompanied by his staff. Painting by Sir Francis Grant, reproduced by permission of the British Library (India Office Library).

Henry Hardinge

Captain, Ligny,
16 June 1815



Governor-General,
Ferozeshah,
21 December 1845

